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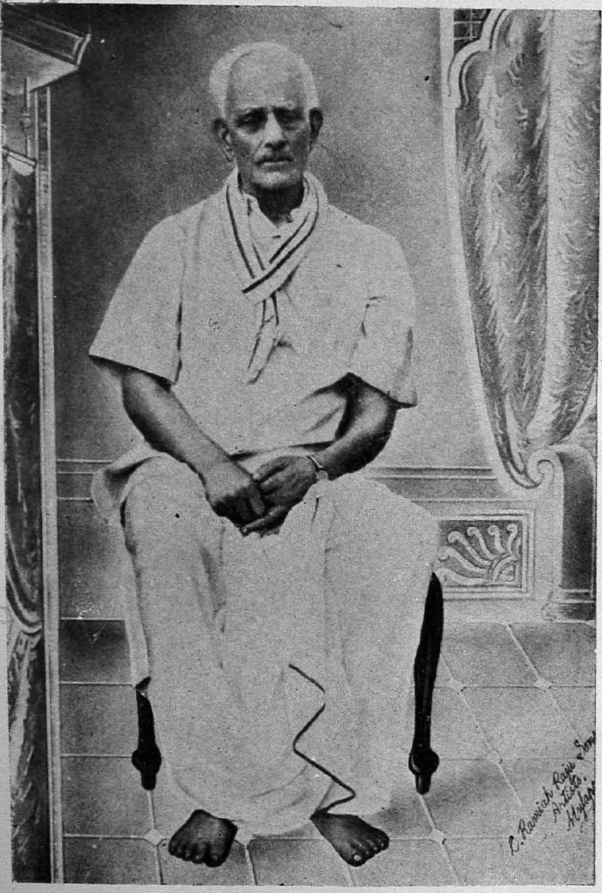
OUR SECOND PRESIDENT



SRI T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI, C.I.E.

6—2—1874] [2—7—1953

OUR SECOND PRESIDENT

The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute and the Journal of Oriental Research have sustained an irreparable loss in the passing away of Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri on the 2nd July, 1953, at the ripe age of 79. He was one of the greatest and noblest sons of India. He belonged to a stock of learned brahmins who were settled during the days of the Maratha rulers of Tanjore in the village of Tiruvalangadu in the Tanjore district. The Maratha ruler who was a generous patron of learning gave as free gift, parcels of wet land to a group of learned brahmins for their maintenance, free of assessment, in recognition of their scholarship and the service they did to the culture of the people. Mr. Venkatarama Sastri's father was familiarly known as Raju Sastri. He was well-versed in all the four Śāstras and was known among his people for his sturdy independence, integrity and culture. Mr. Venkatarama Sastri who was born on the 6th February, 1874, had his early years of training under his father and began to study English much later than the other boys of his community. This early education impressed in him a deep reverence for Indian culture and tradition which he kept throughout his long life. He had a brilliant academic career and took to the profession of law having been an apprentice under the late Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, a distinguished son of India. Mr. Sastri soon rose to the top-ranks of the profession and became one of the recognised leaders of the bar with a wide and lucrative practice. He had a sound knowledge of legal principles and made a special study of Hindu law and jurisprudence. Especially as he was a Samskrit scholar he made an extensive study of the Dharmaśāstras. He was a great advocate known not only for his ability in the presentation of facts and the elucidation of law but also in his scrupulous fairness and integrity. His enunciation of legal principles was marked with lucidity and accuracy and he spoke good faultless English. His legal talents were recognised by the Government of Madras and he became the Advocate-General in the year 1924, and he was offered the Law Membership of the Executive Council of Madras in the year 1929. Though he

accepted the offer he resigned his Law Membership a few days later on the ground that the Government of the day was not fair to him in the allotment of the portfolios. This resignation was appreciated widely by his countrymen as a mark of his independence and spirit of sacrifice. He joined the bar again and resumed his practice with assiduity and continued to be the leader of the bar till a few years before his death.

Mr. Sastri's interests were not confined to the legal profession. He kept up his study of Samskrit and of our religious literature and also his interest in English literature. He was a widely read man and he was fond of books. In politics he belonged to the Liberal School and was the President of the National Liberal Federation in its sessions at Nagpur and Lahore. He was a sturdy patriot and fought for the freedom of our country alongside our great public leaders. Every good cause found in him a worthy champion. Whenever any injustice was committed by the Government he was one of those who were foremost in agitating for the removal of such injustice and for the redress of our grievances. Special mention may be made of his valiant fight when by legislation harm was done to the Inamdars. He had a flair for friendship and enjoyed the attachment of many good friends. His suavity, his decorum and his dignity of behaviour earned for him the affection of a large circle of people in our country. He was imbued with a deep spirit of reverence and loyalty to his elders. He was a devoted *chela* of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar and the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and enjoyed the unbounded confidence and love of these two great men. He took active interest in many cultural institutions in Madras. He was President of the Board of Trustees of the P. S. High School, and Member of the Council of Management of the Venkataramana Dispensary and Ayurvedic College, the Vivekananda College and the Madras Institute of Technology. He made a handsome donation of Rs. 15,000 to the Vivekananda College at the time of his death in addition to the amount of Rs. 20,000 which he had already given to that institution at the time of its establishment. In him we have lost a great benefactor, a great public leader and a noble and cultured Indian of spotless integrity and purity of life.

Mr. Sastri became the President of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute after the demise of the Rt. Hon'ble

Srinivasa Sastri in 1946 and continued to be its President till the date of his death. The Institute and the Journal of Oriental Research were immensely benefited by his wise guidance, sage counsel and generous help. At the time of the foundation of the Institute in 1944 he made a handsome donation of Rs. 2,500 to it and became one of its Patron Members. He was a valued contributor of articles to the Journal which revealed his study and research. Two of his recent writings in the Journal are a learned article on "The Vedic attitude to Sati" and a penetrating review of A. F. Khabardar's "New Light on the Gathas of Zarathustra." To the Library of the Institute he made a generous gift of all the Samskrit books which he owned. At a public meeting convened under the auspices of the Institute and other cultural bodies in the city on the 18th July, 1953, the public of Madras mourned his loss and recorded their appreciation of his great services to our country. It is our pious duty to record in the pages of this Journal the great services rendered by him to the Institute and the Journal and to the cause of the cultural renaissance of our country.

K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyer.

THE COMPARISON OF INDIAN AND WESTERN PHILOSOPHY*

BY

DANIEL H. H. INGALLS, *Harvard University, U. S. A.*

First let me thank the chairman and the members of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute for the honour they have shown me in asking me to address you tonight. It is an honour, though, of which I find it difficult to be worthy, for I have returned to India after a ten years' absence to learn and not to teach. In view of this, I shall not try tonight to prove any thesis with rigid logic, but shall simply point out some theories and examples on a subject that interests me greatly.

Philosophy, in its literal and broadest sense, means a love of wisdom. In this sense philosophy has always made use of discussion and the comparison of different views. Near the beginning of the western tradition we have the dialogues of Plato where various points of view are represented by various persons and where the result derives, or at least appears to derive, from a comparison of these views. When we look at the Indian tradition we find that there too from almost the beginning discussions were held and viewpoints compared.

In the time of the Buddha and before, say in the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries B. C., among the warring states of the Ganges valley, enlightened monarchs would call together meetings of the learned men of their time. The discussions that ensued, in the very earliest period, dealt largely with the Vedic ritual and with secret doctrines. But as time passed the arguments concerned themselves more with the purpose and meaning of the ritual than with its practice. The discussions became philosophical rather than hieratic.

It is worth noting that these discussions were considered to be very dangerous affairs for the participants. In one of the Brāhmaṇas that may date from around 800 B. C., we are told that when a Brahmin left home for a great public discussion, his family and friends would assume all the forms of mourning as if he were going to his death. Tears would

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* A Lecture delivered at the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute on July 15, 1952.

stream down their faces and his wife would remove her ornaments and jewelry. For if he was dumbfounded, if he was caught without an answer, the penalty might be death.

Such were the dangers of comparative philosophy in the 8th century B. C. and yet this discipline was practised, was fervently practised, which showed the value that Indians of that time placed upon it. The rewards, they felt, were commensurate with the dangers.

What were the rewards? Yājñavalkya, one may say, received a prize of one thousand cattle with gold bound to the horns of each cow. This is a reward which I fear may no longer be expected. But this was not Yājñavalkya's chief reward and there is some justice in Śaṅkara's remark that the story is introduced only in order to praise Yājñavalkya and rouse the interest of the listener.

The true reward of his life Yājñavalkya tries to explain to his wife Maitreyī just before he leaves for his final sojourn in the forest. The true reward is Understanding, is Truth. The passage in which he explains this is one of the greatest passages of Sanskrit, if not of all literature, and I shall not desecrate it by partial quotation. Yājñavalkya's reward, of course, was not attained simply by philosophical discussion and comparison. The Vedānta, which is fond of such categories, lists the prerequisites as *tranquillity*, *self-control* and so on. But discussion and comparative philosophy, to judge from the amount of it preserved in Sanskrit literature, formed a prerequisite of no little importance.

Is the reward of comparative philosophy still the same? I shall not pretend that by setting European philosophy beside Indian philosophy one will immediately arrive at *niḥśreyasam brahma*. But I do think it is one of the best ways of avoiding the limitation of one's environment and gaining a deeper understanding of man.

In this discipline the direction of one's inquiry will differ depending on which side of philosophy one chooses to consider. For philosophy always possesses a double nature. It is part science and part art. It is a science in so far as its statements are capable of measurement or proof. It is an art in so far as it deals with the immeasurable or the dogmatic. There are some men foolish enough to wish to limit philosophy to one or another of these characters. This is as if a king should rule

that only men or only women might inhabit his kingdom. Whatever other results might occur there would certainly be no children. Similarly, if philosophy were all science or if it were all art it would become sterile indeed.

Almost all the comparisons that have been made in modern times between Indian and western philosophy have been made between elements of the second character, that is, between the axioms and dogmas of one or more Indian philosophers and those of a corresponding group in Europe. Thus, the first Westerner to make a really searching study of Indian philosophy, Paul Deussen, compared the philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya with that of Kant. The similarity which he found is what I would call an artistic similarity. Two statements may look similar out of context, but are they obtained in the same way? Do they truly play the same function in the two systems of thought?

Since Deussen's time, both in Europe and in India which now produces most of this comparative work, there have been a few brave comparativists who have looked on the other side of philosophy also. But they have been very few. The overwhelming majority of comparative work is still concerned with dogma and with basic attitude.

It is therefore time, I think, to give some attention to the other side of the subject: to logic, grammar, dialectics. Of course, it would be just as dangerous to limit our comparison to this side, as to the other. But at the present time, being the dark side of the picture, it requires more light. Accordingly, it is from this scientific side of comparative philosophy that I should like tonight to choose a few examples and theories.

* * *

Let me begin with two famous sophisms, that is, with two statements which sound logical but which are false. The first one is Greek in origin.

"A man cannot cross this room. Because first he must cross half the room, then half of the half that remains, then half of the fourth that remains. In this process, there will always be a remainder of which the man must cross one half before coming to his terminus. Therefore, a man cannot cross this room."

The second example is Indian, to be specific, Buddhist. It was first used by Nāgārjuna in the second century A. D. and it occurs in several forms. One of them is essentially this:

"Nothing exists. Because if anything is to exist it must be past, present or future. We cannot say the past is, for it no longer is. We cannot say the future is, for it is not yet. We are left then with the present. But the present can only be defined as the dividing line between the past and the future. Being a line described by two imaginary entities, it also has no claim to exist. Therefore, nothing exists."

I choose these two examples because they are typical of the logical traditions within which they occur. The Greek example is based on a problem of mathematics, the Indian one on a problem of grammar. Here is a noticeable difference between Greek and Indian philosophy, a difference of a scientific, not a dogmatic character. In philosophizing the Greeks made as much use as possible of mathematics. The Indians, curiously, failed to do this, curiously because they were good mathematicians. Instead, they made as much use as possible of grammatical theory and argument.

It is sophistries like these that have given logicians and grammarians a bad name. The layman, who is faced with enough problems in life as it is, is understandably annoyed when problems are raised where there appears to be no need of a problem at all. The ancient Greek who answered the mathematical problem by the physical act of walking across the room would find many sympathisers today. But let me point out that this answer is not a philosophical one. It tells us nothing more about the world than we knew before. The real answer would show something of the nature of infinite series. It would show that an infinite series may readily occur within a limited boundary and that the infinitude of the series in no way affects the finitude of the boundary. The real answer would take us a step toward an understanding of the calculus, an understanding toward which the Greeks blindly strove but never reached.

The Indian example contains a grammatical error concerning the nature of negation. The existence of the past is not grammatically denied by saying the past does not exist, but by saying the past did not exist. Underneath this grammatical error, lies a mathematical problem in the doctrine of the

infinite divisibility of time. This to Nāgārjuna destroyed the concept of time just as the Greek example seems to destroy the concept of space. But neither Nāgārjuna nor his antagonists ever recognized this as a mathematical problem.

I hope I have said enough to give a hint that these tricks of logic and grammar may contain more matter than the layman is at first disposed to admit.

Now, the history of philosophical technique, that is, the history of the scientific side of philosophy, can be partly measured by the degree to which such tricks and problems are solved. Let me take a single problem this time, one that has long worried Indians as well as Europeans, and show you how each tradition has dealt with it. Unlike the problems of basic attitudes, this one is capable of being solved. This is the problem of quantification.

I shall start with what appears to be an innocuous and self-evident statement:

'All fish live in a body of water'. Or, in Sanskrit:

'सर्वे मत्स्या जलाधिकरणे जीवन्ति'

But a logician, like a lawyer, can pick a fault in almost any statement. The Greeks, when they applied themselves to such statements as this, soon found that they could reason thus:

'All fish live in a body of water.
A bathtub is a body of water;
Therefore all fish live in a bathtub.'

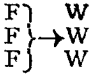
This is one of the stock fallacies of Aristotelian logic, being technically known as the fallacy *in dictione*.

The Indians were equally ingenious. Their method of misinterpretation would have run like this:

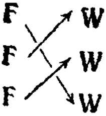
'If all fish live in a body of water, then what is to prevent the fishes of the sea from living in a lake, freshwater fish from living in the sea, the fishes of the north from living in the south and the fishes of the south from living in the north.'

They called this system of misinterpretation चालनीयन्याय, that is, interpretation on the analogy of a sieve.

Let us look more closely at the terms of our statement. We have been talking about two sorts of objects, fish (F) and bodies of water (W). The Greek fallacy may be represented as follows:



The Indian fallacy may be represented thus:



It is sufficiently obvious that the source of both fallacies lies in the connecting links, binders as they are technically called, between the two sets of terms. But it is not equally clear how to avoid this confusion. The Greeks never did develop a precise method of quantification. They simply recognized the errors to which their language was prone and then sought to avoid them by precautionary rules. The language of logic itself was not improved in this respect in the West until the 19th century with the invention of logical symbols. By the use of proper symbols we can now express exactly the meaning of our innocuous statement. And when we do this we see how difficult it is to do the same thing in every day English, for what we wish to say is this: "If x is a fish, then for any x you choose there exists at least one y, such that y is a body of water and x lives in y."

Why go to all this trouble? Why change one's language simply to express the obvious? Because it is not always obvious. The example I have given is a very simple one. The insufficiency of Greek or English or any other natural language can be seen if we take a more complicated case.

Consider the following two sets of numbers. To aid comprehension I italicise those numbers which are irrational within each series.

(*a*) *7* 6 *7* 9 4 *8* 11 2
(*b*) 10 9 *11* 13 6 *14* 16 3

It is not difficult to see that there is some similarity between these two sets. If we leave the irrational numbers out of consideration, starting at the beginning of the first set and skipping a number at each step, we find that the numbers increase by 2; starting at the second number and skipping in the same manner, they decrease by 2. In the second set the same principle holds, the increment and decrease however being measured by 3. But although it is not difficult to notice this, it is difficult to express it, particularly to express it in

such fashion that we will have a definition of this type of series. Without the use of symbols about the best one can do in English is the following:

"A class of series of numbers such that in each series those numbers which follow numbers than which they are less are themselves in a series which decreases in proportion as the numbers than which they are less increase."

This is cumbrous, inexact and is not properly quantified.

Turning to the Indian tradition, I have discovered that India invented a system of avoiding confusion in binders long before one was invented in Europe. Here again it is interesting to notice the difference between the European and Indian traditions. The precise symbolism for quantification invented in 19th century Europe derives from the symbolism of mathematics. On the other hand the Indian system, which was used at least from the time of Gaṅgeśa in the 13th century, derives from the elaboration of Sanskrit grammar, in particular from the unnatural and marvellous powers of abstraction and noun-composition which that grammar developed.

The Navya-Naiyāyika or Indian logician of the school of Gaṅgeśa begins by reversing all quantified statements by the use of two negatives. To take our innocent statement, instead of saying "All fish live in a body of water," he would start by saying "No fish lives in what is not a body of water." But this statement is still unsatisfactory, for 'no' is a quantifier and as such apt in normal language to lead to confusion. For it the Naiyāyika substitutes an abstract, 'absence', and this absence must be such that its counter-positive (that which it denies) is limited by another abstract, namely 'living-fishhood'. The whole statement would then run like this:

"An absence such that its counter-positive is limited by living-fishhood, in respect to locus of absence of water, is a universal absence."

Or more clearly in Sanskrit, for here the statement consists of only three words:

जलाभावाधिकरणनिरूपितजीवन्मत्स्यतावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावः सामान्याभाव एव ।

This system of replacing quantification by negatives and abstracts and of so avoiding the confusion which accompanies quantification in everyday language, is impeccable when applied to simple statements. One must admit that it is too cumbrous

to be applied to complex mathematical examples, but it is well in advance of European techniques of quantification prior to the 19th century.

Let me give you one more problem. To me it is the most interesting of all, not so much because Sanskrit logic arrived at the answer three centuries before Europe as because the problem is basic to the whole logic of mathematics and as I have said Indian logicians very seldom dealt with mathematics. This is undoubtedly the reason why they did not use this quite extraordinary discovery in the same way we have used it in the West.

The problem is the definition of number. Number is a very difficult thing to define as you can readily discover by trying to define it. Let me first try to show you what a number really is and then tell you what Raghunātha Śiromaṇi said on the subject. He should be better known, for he possessed one of the keenest intellects that has ever been given to man.

To show what a number is, suppose we begin a quite impossible task. Suppose we start sorting everything in the world into units, pairs, triplets, quadruplets and so on. We will sort them the way a postal clerk sorts letters: letters for Calcutta, letters for Bombay, for Delhi, America, England. Among the pairs that will go into the pairs' basket are your eyes, your ears, the blades of a scissors, the wheels of a bicycle and so on. Into the triplets' basket will go the sides of a triangle, the windows in your living-room if there happen to be three of them, the legs of a tripod and so on. The basket of quadruplets will contain the wheels of an automobile, the keys in your pocket if you happen to have four keys in your pocket, the sides of a square. One could continue this task of sorting for ever without coming to an end. The important thing to notice is that each item that we have put into a basket is itself a basket. Thus, the pair of eyes is a basket containing a right eye and a left eye; and this basket of right and left eye goes with all other baskets holding two objects into the big basket of pairs. Everywhere we have baskets inside of baskets or, to start using the language of logic, classes within classes. Now, the interior classes are the pairs, triplets, quadruplets. The exterior classes, the sorting baskets, are numbers. That is, the number 2 is the class of all pairs, the number 3 is the class of all triplets, and so on.

A number is always a class of classes. In Europe this was first clearly pointed out by Frege in the 19th century and almost immediately it led to very interesting logical results.

Now, I have found that essentially the same principle was known in India to Raghunātha, who lived from about 1475 to about 1550 A. D. That is, the Indian discovery precedes the European one by more than three centuries. Raghunātha did not think in terms of classes, he thought in terms of abstracts; but what he says comes to the same thing. There are two sorts of twoness, he says, a twoness which is connected with each of two objects by a relation which he calls inherence; and a twoness which is not connected with each of two objects but rather with all pairs taken as wholes. This second sort of twoness is connected not by inherence but by what he calls *paryāpti*.

This is really quite an extraordinary discovery. In Europe it comes only within the mathematical tradition and it leads almost immediately to new developments. For if we have classes of classes, why not continue the process and have classes of these classes too? This step was soon taken in European logic and leads to Russell's theory of the hierarchy of classes, which has proved to be one of the most useful theories yet propounded for removing logical ambiguities. And the principle leads in other directions also, for example to the concept of a null class.

But in India the discovery does not come in a mathematical tradition and these further steps were not taken. The principle was first formulated, I believe, in order to remove a difficulty in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory of categories. It was put to further use, not to solve mathematical problems but to render more precise verbal statements of the laws of concomitance.

I have emphasized these technical comparisons, as I said at the start, not because they are the most important part of philosophy but because they have been so long neglected. In one way they form the unattractive side of philosophy, for they have no immediate connection with the problems that are of primary importance to our lives, the problems of unity, of purpose, of value. On the other hand, these technical comparisons have one advantage: they lead to definite results. Since the data examined are amenable to precise evaluation,

one may measure out a curve of historical development that has greater precision than a curve drawn on artistic data. The curve will have also a more obvious continuity. When we compare Shakespeare with Kālidāsa we may point out various excellencies or shortcomings in each, but we cannot say that one is better than the other. On the other hand, if we compare Aristotle's logic with Vātsyāyana's or Diṅnāga's we can make certain definite evaluations. Again, while there is certainly an artistic tradition stretching from Aeschylus to Shakespeare it proceeds in a mysterious series of waves through which one senses but cannot exactly define the continuity. On the other hand, between Aristotle's *Organon* and Whitehead and Russell's *Principia* the continuity needs only historical research to become obvious and definable.

In comparing the Indian and Western traditions from this technical point of view one finds curious discrepancies. I have pointed out two of them, the discovery in India of a technique and a theory centuries before they were discovered in Europe. Such points are interesting but they should not be the goal of comparative studies. What is of real importance is to notice how similar results can be achieved by wholly different methods. An example is Raghunātha's arriving at a cornerstone of mathematical logic without ever dealing with mathematics proper. To observe such phenomena is to increase one's estimate of human possibilities. In this way comparative philosophy is, as I said, one of the best methods of breaking away from the limitations of one's environment and gaining a deeper understanding of man.

In this respect the attitude which I have taken toward these technical comparisons remains the attitude which I take towards comparative philosophy as a whole. And this is true in certain other matters also. For example, just as Indian logic and Western logic are both logic, just so do I hold that Indian philosophy and Western philosophy are both philosophy. This sounds like a truism but it is not, for it has been denied that Western philosophy really deals with the same subject as what is generally called Indian philosophy. To this error is added a second one, that it is now desirable to unite the two traditions. Concerning the first error I would say this. It has been my experience that scarcely a single theory of Western philosophy is not found represented at least once in the Indian tradition, and *vice versa*. There are certain great

differences of emphasis, but whatever is possible within one area is possible within the other. Just as Indians and Westerners are both humans, so the thoughts of both are equally human thoughts. Accordingly, in one sense there seems to me no question of uniting Indian and Western philosophy, for they have never been essentially different. But if by uniting is means unifying all philosophical systems into a single world philosophy, as has recently been proposed, then I can think of no event more horrible to contemplate, for if philosophers were all to cease arguing, there would soon be an end to philosophy.

This point of view seems to me well expressed in a quotation which I saw recently, inscribed over the entrance to the new National Library at Belvedere in Calcutta. I may appropriately end my talk with this quotation. The words are those of Mahatma Gandhi.

"I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

THE PURPOSE OF SANSKRIT STUDIES TODAY*

BY

DANIEL H. H. INGALLS, *Harvard University, U.S.A.*

I have thought it might be appropriate if I devoted my talk to you this afternoon to the subject of the purpose of Sanskrit studies today. This is a subject to which all of you in one way or another must have given attention and on which many of you may have settled convictions. My excuse for discussing it is that I come from a distant land and it may prove of some interest to you to see how far our views coincide.

First let me speak of what I know best: Sanskrit studies in America. Later I shall turn to Sanskrit studies in India.

There are chairs of Sanskrit in seven American Universities. Besides this, elementary courses in the language are given in perhaps fifteen Universities more. One may also mention such organisations as the Ramakrishna Mission and the Vedanta Society, which, although they give little instruction in the Sanskrit language, have interested numbers of Americans in what may properly be called Sanskrit culture. But taking all those in America who have studied Sanskrit at first or at second hand we have never formed more than a small group of people. The area of interest of this group, however, has broadened greatly from the time of its origins.

The study of Sanskrit in America began about a century ago as a branch of comparative philology. Our earliest teachers conceived the purpose of this discipline to be chiefly the study of language. Thus the first American Sanskritist of note, William Dwight Whitney, is remembered for two works, a Grammar and a translation of the Atharva Veda. Whitney's *Grammar* remains one of the best descriptive grammars ever written and his translation of the Atharva Veda is a work of painstaking honesty. But Whitney had no interest in the Atharva Veda itself; he was interested simply in the language of the Atharva Veda.

A generation later came Lanman and Hopkins, and then Bloomfield and the older generation of scholars who are still

* A Lecture delivered before the Sanskrit Association of the Presidency College, Madras, on July 16th, 1952.

living. Lanman too started out in the old tradition with a thesis on *Noun-forms in the Ṛgveda* and Bloomfield is best known for his *Vedic Concordance*. But the interests of these men widened. Bloomfield's articles on the mythology of the Veda and on Indian folklore show a much deeper interest in Indian thought than was possessed by Whitney. Hopkins took to the study of the Mahābhārata and the law books. Lanman, who was my teacher's teacher, came to be a bit interested in everything. He wrote little himself, giving his time rather to teaching and editing. But the volumes of the Harvard Oriental Series which he edited bear witness to an interest in Sanskrit poetry, drama, philosophy and religion.

I shall not enumerate every American who has taught Sanskrit or written a book on this subject. I merely wish to point out the general direction that Sanskrit studies have taken in America. We are still a small group of people but our attitude has changed greatly from the days of Whitney. There are two reasons for this change.

First, the comparative philologists have done their work quite thoroughly. The relation of Sanskrit to the European languages is clear; laws have been established for the sound changes; the cognates in Greek, Latin, Germanic, Slavic and so on have been recorded. This comparative work, much more of which was done by the Germans than by us, was not uninteresting nor unimportant. It gave us an historical perspective of Sanskrit which we would otherwise lack. But now that it is done, there is little incentive for a young man to nose out the items that were passed over or forgotten by his elders. The comparative philologists have moved away from Sanskrit proper, on the one hand towards Hittite and the languages of Central Asia and on the other toward the Prākṛts and the languages of modern India.

In the second place, there has been a direct Indian influence on America that did not pass through the Universities. The most famous example of this influnce is Emerson who absorbed a surprising amount of Indian philosophy and religious attitude and welded it to his own brand of Boston Unitarianism. But Emerson is only the best known example. The works of Raja Rammohun Roy were published in Boston within a year or two of their appearance in Calcutta and his *Defense of the Principles of Jesus* exerted its effect on many an American clergyman long before Emerson came to fame.

This Indian influence has continued after Emerson just as it began before. In recent times, thousands who had never even heard the name of Sanskrit heard of Mahatma Gandhi and while we did not all accept the whole of his teaching, we regarded him as perhaps the most sincere man in the public affairs of his time. This led to a general desire in America to know more about India.

This literary and popular interest could not be without its effect on the small group of University Sanskritists. Since the war the effect has been heightened by the independence of India and the consequent desire on the part of Americans to know something about this new power in Asia. I might mention some results of this new interest which bear directly on the subject of Sanskrit studies. There has recently been set up at the University of Pennsylvania under the directorship of Prof. William Norman Brown a Department of South Asia Studies. This is much the largest University organization in America dealing with Indian studies. Instruction is offered in modern Indian languages as well as ancient, in Indian history, economics and art. Sanskrit forms an important part of the programme and is the special field of the director of the department. At Harvard our staff dealing with India is much more limited. Our chief boast is our library. But in the past few years the number of courses in Indian subjects has been increased and my being in India at this time is a direct result of the new interest taken in India by the University authorities. Many American colleges since the war, instead of increasing permanently their faculties to deal with this new interest, have invited scholars from India as guest professors. Thus, Prof. Raju, now at Rajputana, has served at the University of California; Prof. Datta of Patna is just now returning from the University of Wisconson and Prof. Ashirvatham has spent several years at Boston University. It is worth noting that many of these Indian guests have been philosophers. This is the field of my own work in Sanskrit and I might extend briefly my remarks on this subject.

The past five years have seen a remarkable increase in the attention given to Indian philosophy by professional American philosophers. Since Indian philosophy is a new subject to most of these men they have occasionally made very great mistakes. Philosophers act somewhat as magnifying glasses on popular opinion, for it is the nature of their discipline to

generalize and to try always to attain the universal. Accordingly, when philosophers make mistakes they make bigger mistakes than most people. But it would be unwise to look only at their faults. Much good has come of this new interest. You may see some of this good in the result of the East-West Philosophers' Conferences in Hawaii that have been organized by Prof. Charles A. Moore. You may see in it the wider concept of philosophy that is gaining ground with us, a realization not only that the laws of philosophy apply to all humanity, for this has always been admitted, but that there have been other lawgivers besides the Greeks and the European lawgivers by whom we may test many of our cherished ideas.

The purpose of Sanskrit studies in America today, as I conceive it, is to aid and guide such tendencies as that I have just mentioned. I do not mean that I wish to limit this aid to philosophy. Let it be applied to all the other branches of study by which man tries to understand himself and his fellows: to history, the arts, and the social sciences. But in each case I would have Sanskrit studies used as an aid to understanding, as a counterpoise to selfishness. There is a quite selfish interest in India among some Americans. It springs from a desire not to understand India but to make use of India or, as it is more gently put, 'to keep India on our side of the fence.' It is the task of the scholar, I think, to counterbalance this with a more honest and disinterested point of view.

As I have indicated, you will hear some of my countrymen urging you to be more like America. You will hear the united voice of Russia urging you to be like Russia. My own earnest and considered advice to you is: for God's sake be yourselves.

This brings me to a consideration of Sanskrit studies in India as distinguished from Sanskrit studies in America. For if India would be herself she must revive the study of Sanskrit. It is Sanskrit literature and science, Sanskrit philosophy and religion that have given India the only free unity she ever possessed. I do not count the political unity of the British Raj as a free unity.

The very essence of Sanskrit culture is its quality of harmony and unity. Other cultures have possessed this quality for brief periods. Europe knew it in the golden days of the Catholic Church for the first three or four centuries of the

present millenium. But India knew it for a vastly longer period of time.

Take any product of Sanskrit literature and you will see this quality. Take a Sanskrit drama. It is not simply a play; it is a combination of poetry, music, dance, symbolism and religion. The first Europeans to read the Śākuntalam thought of it as a romantic love-story. It is far more than this. The love of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā is expressed by the deer of the hermitage and the flowers and trees of the forest. It is the mood of love expressed in the animal and vegetable as well as the human and divine worlds. The theory of the classical Indian drama demands a development of a basic *rasa* or flavor, an unfolding of a basic mood. One may contrast this with the Western classical theory of the drama with its emphasis on the *agonia* or conflict of the characters. The Indian theory is based on harmony, the Western theory on conflict.

This quality appears not only in so large a frame as a complete drama. It appears often and with wonderful force in a single verse. There are thousands of such verses which one might choose. I shall quote only one.

स्थिताः क्षणं पक्ष्मसु ताडिताधराः
पयोधरोत्सेधनिपातचूर्णिताः ।
वलीषु तस्याः स्खलिताः प्रपेदिरे
चिरेण नाभिं प्रथमोदबिन्दवः ॥

Here the daughter of Himālaya, the Goddess Pārvatī, is performing her ascetic vow to gain Śiva as her husband. She sits through summer, rains and winter. Here the rain falls on her eyelashes, drops to her lower lip and to her high breast, then runs down slowly to her navel. The verse expresses the beauty of the Goddess: her eyelashes must be long, her lower lip pouting. When we re-read it we are aware of other implications. She must be sitting *samam kāyaśirogrīvam*, with her torso, neck and head in the same plane, the position demanded for *yoga*. She must likewise be perfectly motionless, which shows that she has mastered this science of *yoga*. And this motionlessness may remind us that her name is Pārvatī, the daughter of the mountain. We have here feminine beauty, yogic perfection and the holy mountain of India all brought into harmony in this one miniature of the rain falling on the Goddess.

I have chosen my examples from what is not normally considered to be religious or philosophical literature, for in this latter type of literature the quality of harmony is so obvious that there can be no need of pointing it out. Every act of Vedic ritual is interpreted by the theologians so as to include references to as much as possible of the inner and outer world and it is to establish the unity of these two worlds that many of the philosophers have expended their greatest effort.

Now it takes no piercing view of India to see how badly this harmony and this unity are needed to-day. But there are Indians who tell us that India needs technical and scientific advancement more than it needs literature and philosophy. And these same Indians seem quite willing to throw overboard what India has that is good in their efforts to borrow from abroad what they consider to be better. Far be it from me to deny the value of technical and scientific knowledge. I should like to point out, though, that no culture is enriched by imitation. What it borrows can only be made useful by being assimilated to what already exists. It is by assimilation that India learned from other lands in the past and she learned with great success. An example or two will show my meaning.

About the year 400 A.D. the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II conquered the province of Malva, shortly after which he moved his capital from Patna to Ujjain. This political event had considerable effect on the history of Indian science, for Ujjain was in close touch with the West coast ports such as Broach and it is through these ports and the Westerners who visited them that India received her first knowledge of Greek astronomy. Evidence of these ancient lessons from the Greeks are the Sanskrit words for hour (*horā*) and diameter (*jāmātā*) and the Sanskrit and modern Indian names for the days of the week. Varāhamihira, the Sanskrit astronomer, when he gives star positions gives them for Alexandria as well as Ujjain. But the Indians of the Gupta period did not simply copy this astronomical information. They put it to use; they combined it with the science they already possessed. In algebra and arithmetic the purely Indian tradition was ahead of the Greeks. It was the merit of Āryabhaṭṭa to combine Indian mathematics with Greek astronomy and in this way permanently to increase the scope of human understanding.

Or to take an example from the history of the arts. About the time of Christ, from Afghanistan to Muttra, there began to flourish a school of Buddhist art showing strong signs of Greek influence. Here for the first time were made statues of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva. The earliest examples of this art are painfully imitative and produce a far from happy effect. Apollo serves as model for the Bodhisattva, the Buddha is modelled after the Greek *rhetor*, Greek nympha supplant the *apsarases* and *yakṣiṇīs* and even the Indian crocodile gives way to the Greek dolphin. But gradually these imitative elements drop off; the figures are assimilated to Indian ideals. By Gupta times the art of this region is such that only an expert can point out to us the Greek derivation of certain elements, here the folds of a robe, there a curl of hair. The embodiment of the Buddhist pantheon in stone, which the Greeks first suggested, has become a medium of expression for a purely Indian genius.

In these cases of cultural borrowing a certain amount of imitation may be necessary in the initial stages. But even in these stages the basic non-imitative cultural tradition must be kept intact or no assimilation ever can take place. This is the reason why Sanskrit must be kept alive in modern India, for there is no Indian culture that is not either expressed in Sanskrit or deeply influenced by Sanskrit writings.

The great need for the preservation and revival of Sanskrit in India unfortunately does not imply that there are many men willing to preserve or revive it. Everywhere I go in India, I hear the same story, that the number of Sanskrit students in schools and colleges is decreasing, that the number of Sanskrit scholars is growing less. But remember this, that the fewer you are the more badly you are needed.

There is a passage in the Śākuntalam where the heroine is about to leave the hermitage. One of her friends remembers a casket of sweet-smelling flowers that she has preserved, tied to the branch of a tree, against the day when Śakuntalā should be ornamented for her marriage. I have sometimes thought that the few Sanskrit scholars of India are like the sweet flowers in that casket. The time will come when India will cease from restlessness and experiment and return to her old tradition. The time may yet be far off, but remember that these periods of social disorganization and disbelief have occurred before. The Greek and Scythian invasions gave rise

to the schools of *cārvākas* and heretics. The time will come when India will once more be married to the ideal of harmony and when it does, you Sanskrit scholars will be the precious remnant, saved like Śakuntalā's flowers for the wedding day.

Meanwhile a bit of the fragrance has escaped overseas. In Europe, in Japan and in America there are a few scholars who have come to look on Sanskrit not as a puzzle or a curiosity but as a language in which some of the highest ideals and noblest thoughts of mankind have been expressed. We are slowly educating a larger number of our own people in this appreciation. As we do so we must never forget our indebtedness to you and men like you, who represent the source of the tradition and who have been selected by luck or destiny or by inner faith to transmit this tradition to the India of the future.

BUDDHA'S RAJGIR*

BY

ADRIS BANERJI, *National Museum, New Delhi.*

ĀRĀMAS[1]

PARIBBAJAKARAMA OF UDUMVARIKA. This place calls for detailed consideration under several heads. The clarification of its character as well as location, which was missed by the Chinese pilgrims, is extremely imperative. Possibly, 1200 years after the *parinibbāṇa*, the *saṁgha* had failed to retain any recollection of this place, though it was the scene of the preaching of one of the most famous *Suttas* in the Pali literature. First, who were the Paribbājakas? *Paribbājakas* have a great antiquity. They have been dealt with by S. Dutt, Dr. B. C. Law, Dr. G. P. Malalasekhara[2] and are also being separately dealt with by me in a subsequent section. They were undoubtedly 'Pre-Buddhistic' and possibly 'Pre-Vedic', since celibacy from youth was not encouraged by the followers of the *varṇāśrama*. The Pali scholiasts throw considerable light on their habits, customs and organisation. Paribbājakas were celibate wandering monks or recluses. The evidence gathered from Pali literature indicate that their creed consisted of belief in absolute bliss after death for the Self purged from the evil, which can be performed by rigorous control of the senses and by avoiding evil in acts, in words, aims or mode of livelihood.[3] These they shared in common with the sect known as the *Ājīvikas* founded by *Gośāla-Maṅkhaliputta*, the great rival of Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna. According to some scholars, Sāriputta and Moggalāna were originally Paribbājakas under *Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputra*. The objective of the *Paribbājakas* was to attain deathlessness.

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* Part II. Part I published in this Journal Vol. XXI. pp. 32-48.

1. For a good account of monasteries in ancient India consult G. P. Majumdar, *Hearth and Homes, Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, pp. 441 ff.

2. S. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, London, 1924, pp. 39-70; *Buddhistic Studies*, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 89ff; *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. ii, under *Paribbājakas*.

3. *Majjhima Nikāya* (PTS), vol. ii, p. 24.

According to Dr. B. C. Law there were two kinds of wandering ascetics: Paribbājakas and Parivrājakas. Paribbājakas again were divided into sub-classes, Brāhmaṇa Paribbājakas and Aññātitthiya Paribbājakas.[1] Women were admitted into their order. Evidently they were a kind of sophists who spent eight or nine months in a year wandering from place to place, engaging themselves in friendly conversations, discussions on ethics, philosophy, nature lore, and mysticism.[2] In chief cities, there were '*Halls*', where these mendicants congregated. Such were Mallikā's *ārāma* in Śrāvastī and the Kuṭāgāraśālā at Vaiśāli. Sometimes special places in the neighbourhood of groves or forests were set apart for their rendezvous. To this class belongs the resorts on the banks of Goggara lake at Champā, at Moranivāpa and on the banks of the Sappinikā near Rajgir.[3] It was at such places that they visited each other. Dighanakha calls on the Buddha, so do Vekhanasa, Timbaruka and Vachchagotta,[4] finally Śivaka-Moliya. Buddha also called on Sakuladayī and Sarabha. The names of a considerable amount of Paribbājaka teachers are mentioned in the Pali texts. They had large followers and so may be taken as distinguished teachers.

The Paribbājakārāma at Moranivāpa at Rajgir was a grove in its neighbourhood. According to Dr. G. P. Malalasekhara it was near Veḷuvaṇa.[5] The Udumvārikā-Sihanāda, the Mahā-Sakuladayī and the Chulla-Sakuladayī *Suttas* were preached here. It derives its name because on it was a protected Peacock park (*Mora* may also be taken for wild fowl in which sense I remember it was interpreted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his comments on R.E.I. of Asoka in his *Aśoka*). Another point is that this park was on the banks of Sumagadhā and not very far from it was the park of Queen Udumvārikā.[6] Udumvārikā was a queen who is reported to have founded the resort for the Paribbājakas.[7] In the

1. Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 89-90.
2. For some of these practices consult *Bramhajāla Sutta.*
3. *DN.*, vol. i, p. 111.
4. *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 91 ff.
5. *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. ii, pp. 671-2.
6. *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*, (PTS), vol. iii, p. 835; *Papañcha sudāni* (Āluvihāra Series), vol. ii, p. 694, quoted by Malalasekhara.
7. *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol. i, p. 161 ff. and *D.N.*, vol iii, p. 39.

preamble to the 'Udumvārikā-Sihanāda Sutta' the Buddha is reported to be walking on the bank of the lotus pond Sumagadhā. Dr. B. C. Law takes it to be in the neighbourhood of Gṛidhakuṭa, which seems to me to be more preferable than the location suggested by Dr. Malalasekhara.[1] Topographically it would be difficult to accommodate a tank, the river Sappinikā, and an *Ārāma,* in the neighbourhood of Veluvana; but near Gṛidhakuṭa it is plausible.

Tripiṭakāchārya Bhikku Dhammarakkhita drew my attention to a reference in the *Sāraṭṭhapakāsini* (Ceylonese edition) that Paribbājakārāma was between the southern gate of the city and Vtluvana.[2] He himself admitted that this is probably a scribal error. Because between the southern gate of the city and Veluvana would lie the '*Antonagara*' and the mountain city of Rajgir.

TAPODARAMA derives its name from its proximity with hot springs. Tāpodā both in the Pali and Sanskrit languages imply hotwater springs. In its neighbourhood, was the residence for monks. Even now there is no lake at Rajgir but a canal which has its debonchure in the hills which has its water hot for a certain distance because the water of the hot springs unite with it at the foot of Vaibhāra. According to the *Vinayas* its water was hot because it flowed between the two *lohakumbhi-nirayas* which existed under Rājagaha.[3] The Tapodās were extremely intriguing and mysterious natural phenomena to the ancient people; and science not having come to their aid they venerated and heaped upon them all the myths that their faculties could invent. I therefore feel, that a case for a lake at the foot of the Vaibhāra has yet to be made out in spite of what Swami Viswananda thinks about it. It was a stream the modern name of which is Sarasvatī. The most important point to note however is that the Chinese pilgrims are totally silent about this famous retreat. It was here that Ānanda was given the chance of living through an aeon. My idea is that its ruins are hidden by the Muslim

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1. *MASI*, No. 58, p. 14.
2. 5. XII. 3. 4.
3. Vol. iii, p. 108, vol. iv, p. 116 f. They were reported to have been in the neighbourhood of the city gate and Veluvana, evidently the north gate and Veluvana.

edifices and the Japanese temple near Makhdum kund. The alternative site would be the high ground between Inspection Bungalow and Sātdhāra spring.

GROVES

VELUVANA-KALANDAKANIVAPA was a park. Originally a pleasure ground of king Bimbisāra, it was presented to Lord Buddha by the king on the following grounds: (1) not too far from the town; (2) not to near; (3) suitable for coming and going; (4) easily accessible to all; (5) not too crowded; (6) not too noisy or clamourous; (7) free from the smell of the public as well as hidden from them; (8) secluded. According to Dr. Malalasekhara this was the first *ārāma* accepted by Lord Buddha and a rule was made to permit the monks to accept such gifts.[1] It was here that Sāriputta and Moggalāna were converted. In this woodland there was a special place called *Kālandakanivāpa* where Lord Buddha usually stayed. The name is derived from the story, that once upon a time, a king came here for a picnic and being drunk fell asleep and was about to be bitten by a snake; but a tree spirit taking the form of a squirrel awakened him and thus saved the royal life. In gratitude it was made a protected park for the squirrels where they used to be fed at public expense.[2] Dr. B. C. Law informs us that the Buddhist legends differ as to who was the original owner and donor of the site.[3] Principal D. N. Sen drew our attention to a Pali story how King Bimbisāra was once compelled to come to Veluvana Vihāra as he was detained too long while bathing in the Taopdā, and on his return found the city gates closed.[4]

Here the following rules were passed: (1) on the keeping of Vassā; (2) the consumption of foodstuffs cooked in the monasteries; (3) picking of edible fruits in the absence of laymen from whom previous permission could be obtained; (4) surgical operations on the monks; (5) use of sugar; (6) rubbing the body against wood; (7) dwelling; and (8) use of precious metals.

It was at Veluvana that Dabbha Mallaputta was appointed the Director of lodgings and Apportioner of rations.

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1. G. P. Malalasekhara, vol. ii, p. 936.
2. *Sutta-nipāta Commentary*, p. 419.
3. *MASI*, No. 58, p. 11; *cf.* also *JOR.*, vol. xix, pt. iii, pp. 216-18.
4. *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 4.

Sāriputta and Moggallāna brought back 500 monks seduced by Devadatta to this place where Buddha is reported to have spent the second, third and fourth *Vassās*. It was during his stay at this place that the attempt to murder him by Nālagiri took place.

Dhānañjani Brahmin, the Bhāradvājas, Akkosoka, Asurinda, Bilaṅgika, Aggika, Achelā Kassapa, Susimā, the thirty monks from Pāvā (Saṁ. Nik., vol. ii, p. 187), Mahakappina, Aññākondaṇṇa, Sonagahapati-putta, Samiddhi, Moliya-Śivāka, Tālaputa, Manichula, Mahachuṇḍa, Visākha, Abhayarājakumāra, Queen Khemā, Princess Chuṇḍī, etc., met the Lord at this grove.

Sāratthapakāsini states that two *stūpas* were erected at the gate of Veluvana Vihāra over the mortal remains of Aññākondaṇṇa and Moggalāna[1], possibly the two *stūpas* which are still visible while going to the hot springs at the foot of Vaibhāra.[2]

All the Chinese pilgrims mention Veluvana as *Venubana-Karaṇḍa-hrada*.[3] According to Fa-Hsien it was to the west of the highway outside the north gate of the city. Hieun-Thsang tells us that going about one *li* from the north gate of the mountain city he arrived at Karaṇḍa-Venuvana, where in his time, stone foundations and brick walls of *Vihāras* existed. Sir John Marshall located it in the open ground on the left of the road where gardens still exist. According to him it was bounded on the north by the mound containing the Muslim tombs, almost immediately to the north of the hot springs on the Vaibhāra hill.[4] He has also attempted to identify the tank called *Karaṇḍahrada* mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. According to Principal D. N. Sen, the tank pointed out by Sir John is a modern one, which has received the support of Dr. R. C. Majumdar.[5] The tragedy of the whole situation is that nowhere in Pali literature is Venuvana referred to as 'Venuvana-Karaṇḍahrada.' It is invariably mentioned as 'Veluvana-Kalandakanivāpa'. More than a millenium after

1. Vol. i, p. 219; *Jātaka* v, p. 127.
2 There is a similar tradition mentioned by Hieun-Thsang.
3. Legge, *Fa-Hian*, pp. 84-85, S. Beal, vol. ii, p. 159-60.
4. AR, ASI, 1905-06, pp. 94-95.
5. *Rajgir and its Neighbourhood*, pp. 4 and 32.

the death of Lord Buddha, the Chinese pilgrims add a tank which ought to have been near Gṛidhakuṭa. The supporting evidence for the existence of this tank is supplied by a missing *ex-voto* record on an image mentioned by A. M. Broadely only, which is reported to have stated that it was a religious gift to 'Karaṇḍahrada.' The record has been lost long ago and we have no means at ascertaining the correctness of the claim made by Broadley. Therefore the existence of a tank of that name in Buddha's time may be justly questioned. The location of the famous grove has also become controversial, the prevalent theory having been challenged.

The location of all the sites on the north side of the mountain city is dependent upon one principal consideration, the position of the north gate through which the Chinese pilgrim passed. General Cunningham calls this 'Hastināpur gate' and locates it nearly a quarter of a mile south of the confluence of the two streams.[1] Sir John Marshall located it 410 feet south-east of the confluence of the two hilly rivers.[2] This identification however has been rejected by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Very correctly Dr. Majumdar is puzzled by the discrepancy between the account of the Chinese pilgrim and the topographical features and thinks that the most probable site is near the streamlet running east and west between the northern wall and the foot of Vipulā.[3] On my first visit to Rajgir I also noticed the discrepancy and I had occasion to discuss it in my brief contribution "Jaina antiquities in Rajgir."[4] At that time I too felt puzzled and still have a suspicion in my mind that there *might have* been a time when Vaibhārā was probably called Vipulā by the local people. In my opinion the position indicated by Dr. Majumdar does not appear to be final. What he takes to be the northern wall of the city might be a curtain wall for secondary defence. Because, every time I had to go with distinguished visitors towards Gṛidhakuṭa, Maṇivāra Maṭha, Son-bhāṇḍāra cave and Malbhum the mass of undressed stones referred to by Marshall coming down the precipitous side of the Vipulā near the

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1. *ASR*, vol. iii, pl. xli.
2. *AR, ASI*, 1905-06, p. 94.
3. Over which a causeway passes to enable the visitors to reach Gṛidhakuṭa. *JRASB, Letters*, vol. xv, p. 68f. *cf.* 'Sumagadhā'.
4. *IHQ*, vol. xxv, pp. 208-09.

road attracted my attention. That there was a gateway here cannot be denied. The Pali tradition tells us that the mountain city possessed no less than 32 gates and we need not be surprised by the occurrunce of three sites.

Another valuable point made by Dr. Majumdar which has not been touched by other scholars and which may possibly help us in correctly locating the site as well as area of this historical grove is that the Pali tradition definitely states that there were three groves in this area:—the Veṇuvana, Sītavana and Kālandakanivāpa and finally a monastery called Tapodārāma (q.v.). Therefore the exact extent of Veṇuvana should not be summarily treated. It is possible that both he and Sir John Marshall may be right.

MADDAKUCHCHHI was alleged to have been situated at the foot of Gṛidhakuṭa. Similar to Moranivāpa, Kālandakanivāpa and its counterpart at Isipatana-Sarnath it was a game preserve where 'Deer' were not to be hunted. After a splinter from the rock hurled by Devadatta had struck the Buddha and led to profuse bleeding and pain, he was first taken to 'Maddakuchchhi' and then to 'Jivākāmbavana', where he received medical attention. At this place Māra tried to create discontent in the Buddha.

The name was derived from the fact that the mother of Ajātaśatru, the queen of Bimbisāra, tried to secure an abortion by violently massaging her belly, when she learnt that the child in her womb was to be a patricide but failed as history testifies. It was said to be not easily accessible.[1] Dr. B. C. Law is of opinion that 'Maddakuchchhi' was not the name of the whole 'Deer park' but it was in its neighbourhood or a part of it.[2] Evidently the wild looking area at the foot of Gṛidhakuṭa is implied. Unless the area inside the mountain city has been thoroughly explored, these places cannot be precisely identified.[3]

JIVAKAMVAVANA was a mango grove belonging to Jivāka-Komaravachchha, which he later on dedicated to the Buddha and the *saṁgha*. It is alleged that he was the son of a courtesan, possibly by Abhayarājakumāra. He is reported to have studied at Taxila University, medicine and surgery, and

1. *Vinaya*, vol. ii, p. 76; vol. iii, p. 176.
2. *MASI* No. 58, p. 13.
3. A. Ghosh, *A Guide to Rajgir*, p. 32.

soon became successful in his profession after his return to his native place. He erected a monastery in the mango grove where Buddha stayed on several occasions. On one such occasion *Sāmaññaphala-Sutta* and *Jivāka-Sutta* were preached here. It was to this place that he was carried from Madda-kuchchhi when his toe was injured by a splinter from the rock thrown by Devadatta and was attended by Jivāka. It was here that Chulapanthaka became an *arhanta* according to the commentaries.

Its location is problemetical. Dr. B. C. Law has pointed out that on the occasion of delivering the *Sāmaññaphala-Sutta* Ajātaśatru left by the eastern gate of the city, which is possibly the 'inner city' of Rajgir. The mango groves stood between the mountain Gṛidhakuṭa and the city wall.[1] For the present we may continue to accept the identification made by Messrs. Kuraishi and Ghosh [2]

LATTHIVANA OR LATTHIVANUYYANA—A grove to the south-west of Rajgir. Within its area was situated Supatiṭṭha-Chetiya (*Chaitya*) where Buddha stayed when he went to Rajgir after obtaining enlightenment and converting the Jaṭilas and Kassapas at Gayā. It was at this place that he received King Bimbisāra with a large retinue and Uruvelā-Kassapa dispelled their doubts. In the time of Buddha, according to Pali tradition, it was a grove of 'Liquorice creepers'—Laṭṭhimadhuka-vana.[3] But the commentaries however make it a palmgrove.[4] The Chinese pilgrim Hieun-Thsang, coming still later, makes it a bamboo grove. Principal D. N. Sen places it to the west or south-west of Rajgir.[5] The place is probably modern Jethian being the vulgar form of '*yashṭivana*.' In the time of Buddha it was probably greater in extent and included modern Tapovan, Phal-Jethian, Chakraghat upto Simraur.[6] Its extent would probably be evident from the fact that it included several most holy shrines of ancient Magadha.

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1. *MASI* No. 58, p. 12.
2. *A Guide to Nalanda* (1st edition), p. 32.
3. *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 68.
4. *Sāmantapāsādikā*, p. 158, quoted by Dr. B. C. Law.
5. *Rajgir and its Neighbourhood*, p. 13.
6. *IA*, 1900, vol. xxx, pp. 61-63.

VILLAGES

AMBALATTHIKA—A village in the neighbourhood of Rajgir, whose position has been clarified in the Pali tradition as having been on the road between Rajgir and Nalanda. It contained a royal rest-house (*Rājāgāraka*). Buddha and the monks often had occasion to use it. The *Bramhajāla Sutta* and the *Ambalaṭṭhikā-Rahulavāda-Sutta* were preached at this village.[1] We learn from Buddhaghosha that it was a shady and well watered park whose name was derived from a mango sapling at the gate.[2] According to some the context of the Rāhulavāda Sutta suggests that Ambalaṭṭhikā was in the neighbourhood of Kālandaka-nivāpa. Buddhaghosha also states that the Ambalaṭṭhikā in which the *Sutta* was preached was a *pāsāda* and *pādhānaghara-saṅkhepa* (meditation hall) erected outside the Veṇuvana Vihāra.[3] Therefore in my opinion a case for two separate villages in the neighbourhood bearing the same name exist. The first was a royal rest-house for sport and pleasure, while the other for a serious and extremely imperative monastic purpose. The site of the royal rest-house (as it was between Nalanda and Rajgir) seems to have been the modern village of Silao now a Police station under whose jurisdiction Rajgir and Nalanda are now situated.

It is possible that the road which exists between Nalanda railway station and Rajgir follows an ancient alignment which was partly occupied by the makers of the light railway. The portion between Nalanda and Dipnagar becomes questionable as a section of this has been built by damming up an old discarded course of the river *Pañchane* and was washed away in the flood of August, 1948. Since then a culvert has now been built at the place to allow excess rain water to flow away without damaging the road and the railway line. From the present Nalanda station it probably reached the eastern side of the Nalanda monastery and through the present Surajpur village to Begampur where there are even now ruins of a monastery and a temple. After Begampur the road now becomes unmetalled upto Dipnagar. This was the road followed by the people even in 1865 because A. M. Broadley tells us that he started from Biharsharif for Bargaon and arrived at Begampur.

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1. *Vinaya*, vol. ii, p. 287; *DN*, i, p. 1; *MN*, i, pp. 414-20.
2. *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini*, vol. i, pp. 41-42.
3. *Papañchasudāni*, vol. ii, p. 635.

Later on he mentions Bargaon and Kapotesvari (modern Kāpāṭiya) villages. Therefore Silao would be an ideal site for people starting from the mountain city.

The antiquities of Silao are neither well known nor have been noticed. Its identification with Vikramaśilā, a mediaeval University, has persuaded us to forget its earlier antiquity. It is a large village at a distance of 5½ miles from the Nalanda Museum. Just near the railway station there is a mosque, now completely whitewashed, whose floors contain ancient fragments, the back being turned upwards for the faithful to walk upon the sacred objects of the infidels. In fact, the structure is built completely of pre-muslim materials like that at Hilsa. About a mile to the west of the present village, there is a place called Gorayāsthāna. The term *'sthāna'* in southern Bihar is generally used to imply the existence of a shrine being equivalent to Pali *āṭṭhāna*. This place is about one acre in area and a number of mediaeval sculptures in very fragmentary condition are to be found. The high mound at the centre is called *tillā*. *Gorāyas* are pieces of stone embedded in the ground. There is a place called *garh* to the south-west of this *'āsthāna'*. Tradition states that materials of this *garh* were removed to build the mosque. It is probably the ruins of a small monastery. Everywhere in Bihar I have found that the ruins of monasteries being rectangular in shape are designated as *garhs*.

Towards the north-west of the village there is another place called Hanumam-āsthāna, where, just as at Bargaon near Sri R. C. Trivedi's house, and under trees on the banks of *Surajpokhrār*, there is a collection of old images. There are other antiquarian sites in the village which are gradually disappearing due to demand for land for new habitations. Even in 1948 I had great difficulty in locating the *garh*. The second Ambalaṭṭhikā near Veṇuvana Vihāra is probably to be located at Chaubeypur a large straggling brahmin village on the outskirts of modern Rajgir.

ANDHAKAVINDA was a village reported to be 3 *gavyutas* from Rajgir. The *Vinaya* informs us that between Rajgir and this village was the river Sappini (Sk. Sarpinī) modern Pañchane.[1] Two important *Suttas* were preached here. These are known as the first and second *'Andhakayindā Suttas'*.

1. Vol. i, p. 254, note 2.

The first was preached on the occasion of Bramhā Sahampati's visit to the master at this place.[1] The second *Sutta* was preached there to Ānanda, regarding the necessity of encouraging periodical admonition to the new monks with regard to the five points.[2] Several other incidents are also connected with this village, in the mass of legends that gradually grew up around the master's history, as is the case with all religious leaders. Once Buddha went there from Banaras with 1250 monks. There was a man who wanted to feed the *Saṁgha.* After long waiting he was successful in his ambition. At the conclusion of the meal Buddha defined the tenfold qualities of the milk rice (*kshīra*).[3] During the same visit a recently-converted District Official prepared meat dishes for the *saṁgha* but the monks who had a meal of solid milk rice previously failed to do justice to his preparations. Being disappointed he was rude to them.[4] This is an important point to bear in mind that even in his lifetime Buddha did not prohibit meat dishes. There are several *Jātaka* stories indicating that meat formed one of the principal diet in ancient Magadha.

It was on his way from Andhakavindā that Buddha met Belaṭṭha-Kachchāna.[5] The identity of the village is not certain. Taking into account the fact that to reach it from Rajgir, Sappini had to be crossed, it can be either of these two places, Ghosrawan or Biharsharif. There is another tradition. This is found in the *Vinaya.*[6] That Andhakavindā lay on the route from Banaras to Rajgir, that is between Vesālī and Rajgir. Buddha was at Verañjā, from which place there were two roads, one long and the other short. Lord Buddha after accepting the hospitality of the Verañjā brahmin passed through Sorreya,[7] from which place he reached Sāṅkissā,[8] from there to Kanauj, from Kanauj to Prayaga from Prayaga to Banaras. From Banaras he went to Vesālī, and from Vesālī he reached Andhakavindā and finally Rajgir. From this it is clear that the ancient Andhakavindā was the present Biharsharif in Patna district.

1. *Saṁ. Nik.*, vol. i, p. 154.
2. *Ang. Nik.*, vol. iii, p. 138 ff.
3. *Vin.*, vol. i, p. 220 and p. 293; and *Udāna. Comm.* 112.
4. *Vin.*, vol. i, p. 222.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
7. Malalasekhara, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, vol. ii, p. 1311.
8. Malalasekhara, *op. cit.* vol. ii, p. 929 ff.

HAYAGRĪVA WORSHIP IN ASSAM

BY

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The *Kālikā Purāṇa* notices several manifestations of Viṣṇu or Mādhava in Kāmarūpa and also gives the names of places where these are to be worshipped. The Lauhityā (Brahmaputrā) passes in between the hillocks Maṇikūṭa still known by that name and Gandhamādana now called Gondhmau, both in Hājo, fifteen miles to the north-west of modern Gauhati. It is on the Maṇikūṭa hill that Viṣṇu in the form of Hayagrīva, "the horse-headed", was afflicted with fever by, and in his turn killed Jvarāsura, "the fever demon", and took his recovery bath in a tank nearby. He therefore made his abode on that hill for the good of men, gods and *asuras.* The tank where he bathed came to be known as Apunarbhavā as a dip into it put an end to rebirths (81.74ff). At Viśvanāth Ghāt further to the east on the confluence of the Brahmaputrā and the Vṛddhagaṅgā there stood a shrine to Śiva-Viśvanātha. Here the Lord of the world (Jagatpatiḥ) fought with (the demon?) Hayagrīva and having killed him returned to Maṇikūṭa. From the context it is doubtful whether *jagatpatiḥ* refers to Viṣṇu or to Śiva, who also, as Kedāra, claims a shrine in Hājo (Kakati, 72). In the *Yoginī Tantra* it is simply stated that Viṣṇu resides on the Maṇikūṭa in the form of Hayagrīva (2.9.123).

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* story of Viṣṇu in the form of Hayagrīva killing Jvarāsura is not in complete agreement with earlier and other legends about Hayagrīva, which are conflicting among themselves. In the *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparvan, 348) Viṣṇu killed the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who wrested the Vedas from Brahmā's hands and made good his escape to Rasātala. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (9.2) states that Viṣṇu manifests himself as *hayaśirā* (horse-headed) in Bhadrāśva, as boar in Ketumāla, as tortoise in Bhārata, as fish in Kuru and in Viśvarūpa everywhere. In the *Harivaṁśa* (2.63) Hayagrīva is commander of Naraka's army and is killed by Kṛṣṇa in battle. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* holds that Viṣṇu incarnated as fish and restored the Vedas after killing the demon Hayagrīva. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (53) the Hayagrīva incarnation of Viṣṇu, which preceded the Fish, re-

compiled the four Vedas, Vedāṅgās, Nyāya-vistara, Mimāṁsā and Dharma-śāstras. As in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* so also in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (55), Viṣṇu is said to manifest himself with horse's head in Bhadrāśva, as tortoise in Bhārata, as boar in Ketumāla, and as fish in the north. It further adds that with horse's head Janārdana possessed forearms resembling a horse's fore-legs, and three eyes (54.2). The *Vāmana Purāṇa* says that god Vāmana remains in the form of Hayaśirā on the river Kṛṣṇā and as Hayagrīva in Mahodaya. The late work *Skanda Purāṇa* (Dharmāraṇya kh., 14-15) tells how Kṛṣṇa's head was severed from his body by the chord of his own bow; how it had to be replaced by Viśvakarmā with the head of one of the Sun's chariot-horses and how the Lord performed austerities in Dharmāraṇya. In the *Sātvata Tantra* (201) Hayaśirā, *a līlā avatāra* of Hari, restored the Vedas from Madhu and Kaiṭabha at the beginning of times. According to the *Devī Bhāgavata* (1.5) Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva kills the demon Hayagrīva.

In a poetical work in Assamese written by Śrīrāma Candra Dāsa in the very early years of the eighteenth century and published under the name *Maṇikūṭa* there is another account about Hayagrīva-Mādhava.[1] In very olden days a sage named Urva underwent penances as a result of which god Viṣṇu appeared before him. The sage prayed that Viṣṇu might be pleased to reside on Maṇikūṭa so that world steeped in various sins could be saved and in order to kill the demon called Hayāsura who was at that time living on that hill. Much pleased with the sage's altruist words, Mādhava appeared in person before Hayāsura and killed him in a very bloody fight. The demon at the last moment of his life took refuge

1. I am idebted to Sri Chitra Mahanta of Bar-dadhi-sattra, Hājo, for procuring me a copy of this rare book. It is however incomplete. Pandit Hemchandra Goswami in his *Typical Selections from Assamese Literature*, vol. II, part iii, Calcutta University, 1924, includes 14 pages of verses from this work, which is there named *Hayagrīvamādhava* in the heading and *Yoginī Tantra* in the body of the text. The date of composition is distinctly given as 1608 Śaka (1686 A.D.) and the place of composition as Gaḍagrāma, the capital of old Āhom kingdom. The author Rāma Candra introduces himself as an officer of state and a scion of the Barpātra family of the village Kenduguri on the rivulet Dilīha, 4/5 miles to the north-east of the modern town of Sibsāgar.

in Mādhava and prayed that the god might take his (Hayāsura's) form and live on the Maṇikūṭa. He then passed on to Vaikuṇṭha (37-64). This work further adds that Ananta himself took the form of the hill Maṇikūṭa by dint of yoga and that even gods desired death on it (107).

The *Yoginī Tantra*[1] gives an account of the origin of the stone image of Hayagrīva-Mādhava in the light of the story of the wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Balabhadra and Subhadrā of the great Purī temple as recounted in the *Brahma Purāṇa*: King Indradyumna one night had a dream that a big nameless tree would be floating by the sea-shore the next morning. He was to cut it into several pieces with an axe. Everything happened in accordance with the dream; two pieces of wood were taken to Kāmarūpa, and still another piece to Maṇikūṭa, the latter to be converted into an image known as Hayagrīva-Mādhava. All the three images were of stony wood—*Śilāmaya dārumaya* (2. 9. 219-43). The Assamese work *Maṇikūṭa* repeats the same tale (7-33). Those who are in charge of the administration of the Mādhava temple affairs have tried to keep up the traditional similarity between their temple and the Jagannātha temple at Purī. As far back as 1895 Dr. Waddell (*The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*) noticed in the vestibule of the temple a pyramidical frame-work of wheel-less car which he likens to the Tibetan Ch'an-ga chutuk, with lion figures at the corners. This was used by the priests to parade in the open air one of the smaller figures of the shrine. Above this throne was stretched a canopy with the customary red frill and the figure of an eight-petalled lotus. The smaller figure referred to above is that of *calanta* (movable) Mādhava, who is taken to bath in the Brahmaputrā at Śuālkuchi five miles away on

1. The *Yoginī Tantra* was written probably in the 16th century A.D., when the worship of Hayagrīva-Mādhava was taken up under the benign patronage of the Koc kings of Kāmarūpa. It is interesting to note how the work has been strongly influenced by the *Brahma Purāṇa* which centres round Jagannātha worship in Purī. In the ultimate chapter of the Tantra much has simply been copied down from the Purāṇa. The following ślokas in particular may be examined: *Y. T.* 2. 9. 168-169 (*Br. P.*, 60. 23-24); 174 (*Br. P.*, 61. 24); 175 (*Br. P.*, 61. 25 with change in the first line); 176 (*Br. P.*, 61. 26 with slight change); 177-184 (*Br. P.*, 61. 27-33, 37, 38); 185-190 (*Br. P.*, 61. 39-46 with slight but significant changes); and 190-199 (*Br. P.*, 61, 47-55).

the Aśokāṣṭamī day. It may be noted here that there is a Jagannātha temple, now in complete ruins due to the terrible earthquake of 1897, where the wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā are worshipped in Mitani village near the Khetri Rly. Stn. The four wheels of Mahāprabhu's stone chariot are also lying about. (S. Kataki: "Antiquities of Assam", *I.H.Q.*, VI, 369-f.)

Dr. Kakati calls the account of the *Yoginī Tantra* an attempt at Vaiṣṇavising the god who seems to be of different origin. He remarks that Hayagrīva is not a sufficiently famous god in the Hindu pantheon to merit worship and a temple. But he occupies high reputation in the Buddhist Tantras and in the Buddhist pantheon (Kakati, 73). The *dhyāna* of Hayagrīva as given in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* however is essenially Vaiṣṇavite (Tantric though) and does not conform to the different forms of Buddhist Hayagrīva. "He is white in colour like *karpūrā* or like *kunda* flowers, is seated on a white lotus but sometimes on Garuḍa, is four-handed with the *vara* (boon-giving) and *abhaya* (assuring fearlessness) poses on the left hands and a book and a white lotus on the right ones, is decked with *kuṇḍala* (ear-ring) and other ornaments, having *Śrīvatsa* (a curl of hair) and the gem *kaustubha* on the chest (*Kālikā Purāṇa,* 81.96-98). In Buddhist *sādhanas* he is described as a companion of Khaṣarpaṇa along with Tārā and two other deities (B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 1924, 36-37). He and Tārā are also the two companions of Lokanātha (*ibid.*, 37). Heruka and Hayagrīva are two of the nine male deities emanating from Akṣobhya (*ibid.*, 60). There are three different forms of Hayagrīva—one with the image of Amitābha on the crown, one bearing Akṣobhya and the third, Paramāśva Hayagrīva, with no indication of parentage (*ibid.*, 52). Hayagrīva Lokeśvara approaches the benign Hayagrīva of the Purāṇa the nearest. "The god sits in the vajraparyaṅka attitude on a lotus. He has four hands, out of which the principal ones exhibit the Vyākhyāna pose. The second pair holds the rosary in the right and the lotus in the left" (*ibid*, 177). Curiously enough the Mādhava image is considered by the Lāmā Buddhists of Bhutan and Tibet to be Mahāmuni and the temple itself is taken by them as a Buddhist *Caitya.* (M. Neog: "Buddhism in Kāmarūpa", *I. H. Q.*, XXVII, June, 1951, 159-f). They visit the temple in the cold season in such

numbers that the priests have to bolt the doors from inside and let them have a dubious sight of the images through a hole in the wall. The Bhutanese tie two pieces of wood each to the palms of their hands and go round the temple in *pradakṣiṇa*, striking the walls with the wood. They believe that their Mahāmuni fled from Bhutan and took his abode in this place.

The temple of Hayagrīva at Hajo is still a living temple and attracts hundreds of pilgrims. There are places on the hill for the worship of Kedāra (Śiva), Kamaleśvara(?), Gaṇeśa, Kāmeśvara (?) and Bāgheśvarī (Jaya-durgā) in different shrines. The hill of Hājo comes in for the tribal worship of the Meces as a deity called Hājo (Bodo, "the hill"). The Mohammedans have crowned the summit of the highest peak with a mosque, said to have been established by Lutfullā Sirāji in 1657 A.D. They call the place Powā—(a quarter part) Mecca. On the Māgh. Bihu (*Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti*) and Bahāg Bihu (*Mahaviṣuva Saṁkrānti*) days, Hindus from far and near come to visit the Mādhava and other temples while there is a parallel crowding of Muslims on these occasions at Powā-Mecca.

That the Hayagrīva temple was at any time some sort of Buddhist shrine cannot definitely be stated. King Naranārāyaṇā of Cooch (Koc) Behār is said to have found the temple in an entirely deserted condition and almost lost in an impenetrable jungle. He repaired it and endowed it with land, priests, musicians, and dancing girls in 1550 A.D. (Capt. E. Tuite Dalton, "Notes on Assam Temple ruins," *J. A. S. B*,, 1855, p. 10). But later in 1583 A. D. Raghudevanārāyaṇa, king of Kāmarūpa (1581-93), had the temple reconstructed on a large scale leaving only the basement with the row of sculptured elephants which have been likened by Dr. Waddell to "the decorative style of the Kailas cave temple of Ellora figured by Fergusson in Plate XV of his cave Temples" (*J. A. R. S.*, II, 42). The Vaiṣṇava saint Mādhavadeva (1489-1636) visited Hājo and went to pay his obeisance to Hayagrīva-Mādhava. He recited several Sanskrit ślokas describing the deity and saluted to him. He also distributed among the attendants of the temple some sixteen rupees. (Daityāri, *Śaṅkaradeva, Mādhavadevar Jīvan-carita*, ed. by H. Gupta, 1900, vv. 1096-98). The ślokas here may refer to the *Saptastotra* of Hayagrīva as given

in the *Yoginī Tantra* (2.9.201-9). Mādhavadeva had later to stay in the Cabābari sands of the Brahmaputrā in the vicinity of Maṇikuṭa for three or four months under orders from Raghudevaṇārāyaṇa (Daityāri, 1223f., 1466ff.). Local tradition has it that Mādhavadeva only peeped into the temple with his hands on the door-frame and turned back therefrom. Some marks on the frame are pointed out as impressions of the saint's palms of hand. But this is apparently a legend meant to add to the importance of the place in an age when bhakti religion became the order of the country. There is an important neo-Vaiṣṇavite *sattra* (monastery) named Dhopar-guri to the north-east of Maṇikuṭa. An apostle, Lakṣmīkānta Ātai, was placed as its head by Mādhavadeva himself. King Naranārāyaṇa and Raghudevanārāyaṇa made certain *devottara* land grants in the name of this temple. When later the place came under the rule of Āhom kings, they also made munificent endowments to the deity. He also was recipient of similar benevolence from the Mohammedans who held the country for some time.

In the worship of Hayagrīva the mantras to be pronounced are *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya*, the Puruṣa-sūkta mantra, the twelve syllabled germ-mantra, the germ-mantra of Kṛṣṇa and different Viṣṇu-mantras (*Yoginī T.* 2.9.168-71). In the *āvāhana* of the deity the following mantras is to be articulated.

> *mīnarūpo varāhaśca narasiṁho'tha vā punaḥ* |
> *āyātu devo varado mama nārāyaṇo'grataḥ* ||
> *sumeroḥ pādapīṭhe ca padmakalpitam āsanaṁ* |
> *sarvasattvahitārthāya tiṣṭha tvaṁ madhusūdana* ||
> (2.9.174-75.)

There are different mantras for offering each of *arghya* (water presented to a guest), *pādya* (water for washing the feet), *madhuparka* (offering of curd with honey or butter), *ācamanīya* (sipping water), *snāna* (water for bathing), *vilepana* (scented material for anointing) and *naivedya* (food offering) (2.9.176-84). The best mantra is defined as that which begins with *Oṁ* and is connected with *namaḥ* (2.9.194). The *Saptastotra* of Hayagrīva (2.9 201-9) visualises the deity as endowed with a thousand arms and a thousand rays of light (*jyotīrūpa sanātana* (2.9. 173) and as one whose image is the very universe (*viśvamūrti*). But he is also four-armed with a *varada* or boon-giving pose, a *pāśa* (noose), a book and a white lotus in his hands, is white as

the moon and is seated on a lotus. Those who are not versed in *mantra* of worship should say *Om namo Hiraṇyagarbhāya* and worship the great god with the *Saptastotra* (2.9.199-20).

The image of Hayagrīva is to be bathed with *mūla-mantra* and variously perfumed water. *Udvartana* (rubbing with oily substance) of the deity with perfumed oil of sesamum should be performed every day. The image should also be brushed properly with a bunch of *nala* flowers, *kuśa* grass, etc., at intervals of five days, seven days, a fortnight or a month. It should then be clothed and decked with jewels and given marks on the forehead with *malaya-candana, gopī-candana,* etc. (2.9.130-66).

In *nyāsa* it is to be visualised that the god Vāsudeva[1] resides on the eastern petal (of the mental lotus), Saṁkarṣaṇa on the south, Pradyumna on the west and Trivikrama on the north-east. Thus three deities of the *caturvyūha* are represented. Aniruddha however is here replaced by Trivikrama. In the *Brahma Purāṇa* (61.39) of which this portion of the Tantra is an imitation reads:

pūrve dale vāsudevaṁ yāme saṁkaraṣaṇaṁ nyaset |
pradyumnaṁ paścime kuryād aniruddhaṁ tathottare ||

Garuḍa should be assigned a place in front of Vāsudeva, and his great club (*mahāgadā*), goddess Earth, *vāṅmaya* (Dharma) and Śrī (Lakṣmī) to his right, his bow along with *Veda* (?) and Puṣṭi to the left, and *vanamālā, śrivatsa* and *kaustubha* over his breast. After this, *Īśāna* of the *pīṭha* and his *śaktis* are to be placed mentally on the direction of the god of gods, (*devadeva-Vāsudeva*), and worshipped outside (the holy circle). The planets and gods of directions should also be presented with offerings of flowers. This is the order in the worship of Viṣṇu Hayagrīva, which leads the devotee beyond birth, death and old age to the place of Viṣṇu (2.9.185-91).

After worship the devotee should practise *mudrā* and *japa*. In *japa* the *mūla-mantra* is to be pronounced eight, twenty-eight or one hundred and eight times. When a particular end is to be attained, the *japa* should be repeated a lac or a crore of times. *Mudrās* are eight in number: *śrivatsa,*

1. *Yoginī T.* 2.9.185 reads *pūrve caiva vaseddevo yāmye saṁkarṣaṇo vaset pradyumnaś caiva tatheśānye trivikramaḥ.* Here *vaseddevo* should possibly read *vāsudevo* which word in fact occurs in the verse immediately following.

lotus, conch, club, Garuḍa, discus, moon and bow—mostly some of the weapons and ornaments of Viṣṇu (195-99).

The *Yoginī Tantra* gives a long list of different species of fruits, vegetables and grains (*dhānya*) which could be offered to the god (2.9.246-52). Cow's milk, fish and the meat of deer, goat, *śalana* (porcupine?) and hare are delectable to Viṣṇu. Buffalo's meat, milk, curd and ghee are to be avoided. Certains birds can also be offered (255-64).

The work *Maṇīkūṭa* follows the *Yogini Tantra* to give names of fruits, vegetables and grains but avoids any mention of animal food. The custom of making such offerings had probably ceased when that work was written.

With the spread of the Bhakti cult in Assam under the leadership of Śaṅkaradeva, the rites in the Hayagrīva-Mādhava temple seem to have undergone some other vital changes. The daily programme of temple ceremonials apparently came to be modelled on Vaiṣṇava *sattra* ceremonials (*prasaṅgas*). Śrīrāmacandra Dāsa gives a description of the daily rites in his *Maṇikūṭa* (vv. 125-59).

Early in the morning the Brāhmaṇas bathe Mādhava in pure water, dress him up and deck him with different ornaments and worship him with *nyāsa*, *mantra* and offerings of *pādya*, *arghya*, etc. The worshipping comes to an end with the sounding of conch and ringing of bells. In the *nāṭa mandira* the temple musicians play on different instruments and the *bhaktas* sing songs of God (*nāma*). When *nāma* is closed, the *janmādya slokas* are recited. Some Brāhmaṇas read from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and explain the passages read. The image of Mādhava is then removed to a *siṁhāsana* under a canopy in the *nāṭa mandira* where it is fanned with *cāmara* (tail of yak). Various offerings are also placed before it. The musicians (*gāyana-pāyana*) produce music to which dancing girls dance with full exhibition of their beauty. The image is taken back to its original place in the temple by Brāhmaṇas on their shoulders. Next follow *biyāhar ciyā* or singing of *rāga* songs (which re-tell stories from the *Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Bhāgavata* and other Purāṇas) by a chorus called *ojā-pali*. *Saṁkīrtana* terminates the morning ceremonials.

Brāhmaṇas cook rice and curry and at noon offer a little quantity with other items of food like curd, milk, rice cooked in milk and honey to Mādhava. The main bulk of the cooked

food is then taken out and distributed among priests and people assembled.

The afternoon ceremonials are *nāma-prasaṅga*, readings from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa, saṁkirtana and viyāhar gīt.*

In the evening Brāhmaṇa priests worship the deity and perform *ārati* (adoration of deity with musical sounds and burning of incense); horns, conches and bells are sounded, different varieties of drums are beaten. The performance is followed by *nāma* singing by women and then by male devotees.

The series of day-time ceremonials is followed at night.

On special festive occasions the images of Mādhava, Kedāra, Pārvatī, Kamaleśvara and Kāmeśvara are taken by men and women with much music and dancing to the place sacred to Gaṇeśa where *nāmakīrtana* is held (*Maṇikūṭa,* 223-48).

Visitors from outside have to take their bath in the Apunarbhavā lake, see Gokarṇa (Kāmeśvara) and Kamaleśvara and then ascend the Maṇikūṭa hillock after making proper salutations to it. Entering the main gate to the precincts of the shrine of Mādhava (*siṁhadvāra*), they should salute to the image of *Nṛsiṁha* on the stone wall of the temple. This deity comes in for daily worship even to-day and vegetables offerings (*māh-prasād*) meant for the temple must be first placed before *Nṛsiṁha*. People, whose access into the temple is put under bar, have to be satisfied with paying obeisance to the Man-Lion.

The visitors go round the temple in *pradakṣiṇa* clock-wise three, four, five or seven times and enter the main apartment through the *nāṭamandira* and the *jagamohana* and salute Mādhava with offerings of flowers, fruits, silver and gold (*Maṇikūṭa,* 170-79). It has been the custom to cane visitors on the entrance to the temple as in the Jagannātha temple of Purī. It is thus that the rites of Hayagrīva worship underwent a thorough re-orientation under the influence of the neo-Vaiṣṇavite movement.

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ACYUTA PIṢĀROṬI: HIS DATE AND WORKS

BY

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Acyuta Piṣāroṭi was a renowned scholar and astronomer of Malabar, who lived in the latter half of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries of the Christian Era. Born in a Piṣāroṭi[1] family at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr, about two miles south-west of Tirūr in the Shoranur-Calicut line of the Southern Railways, a place which hails as the birth-place of such celebrities as Someśvara, the father of Padmapāda, the famous disciple of Śrī Śaṅkara, of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji, the author of *Tantrasaṅgraha* and the *bhāṣya* on *Āryabhaṭīya*, and of Rāmānujan Eḻuttacchan, the greatest of the Malayalam poets, he received education at the hands of a person called Jyeṣṭhadeva, and in due time became a profound scholar and a protege of King Ravi Varma of Veṭṭattunāḍ,[2] a principality which now forms the north-eastern part of the Ponnani taluk in the Malabar district. Ample testimony is borne to his great proficiency in astronomy by the contemporary *Bhṛṅgasandeśa* of Vāsudeva in the verse[3]

तस्मात् प्रत्यक् प्रहितनयनः कुण्डगेहाधिवासं[4]
सर्वज्ञं तं प्रणम गिरिशं भक्तिमानच्युतं च ।
एकस्तावद् वहति शिरसि ज्योतिषामेकमिन्दुं
ज्योतिश्चक्रं निखिलमपरो धारयत्यन्तरङ्गे ॥

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1. The Piṣāroṭis form a section of the Ampalavāsi community and they are supposed to be the descendents of a Brahmin, who embraced *saṁnyāsa*, but ran away before the rites initiating him into that *āśrama* were completed, and returned to the pleasures of worldly life.

2. It is possible that this Ravi Varma is the same as the king of that name eulogised by Vāsudeva, the author of *Saṅkṣepabhārata*, *Saṅkṣeparāmāyaṇa*, *Kalyāṇanaiṣadha* and *Govindacarita*, for both are rulers of the same principality, though the obscurity in which the history of this part of Malabar is merged, makes a decided opinion on the matter impossible.

3. Vide *Bhṛṅgasandeśa*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 128, p. 17.

4. Kuṇḍageha is the Sanskrit name for the Malayalam Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr.

where it is poetically remarked that while Śiva bears on his head only one of the luminaries of the universe, the moon, Acyuta bears the whole universe in his *mind* (for he is an astronomer and must know the positions of all heavenly bodies in their exact details). Famous thus, he is equally famous as the preceptor of the great poet and grammarian Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri, who in his *Prakriyāsarvasva* says that he learnt the entire science of grammar from him, and pays a glowing tribute to his versatile scholarship in the obituary verse

> हे शब्दागम ! निर्दयं विबुधताल्ध्वैर्निपीडिष्यसे
> धाष्टर्यैकप्रवणासि वैद्यसरणे ! नष्टोऽस्यलङ्कार भोः ।
> हन्त ! ज्यौतिषतन्त्र ! पर्यवसिता तिथ्यृक्षयोस्ते कथा
> 'विद्यात्मा स्वरसर्प'दत्रभवतामाधारभूरच्युतः ॥

which tells us that besides astronomy, Acyuta had also well mastered Grammar, Poetics and Medicine, and indicates the date of his death in the chronogram विद्यात्मा स्वरसर्पेत् which works out to 1621 A.D. We have definite evidence for taking the date of birth of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri to be 1560 A.D.,[1] and as we can reasonably allow a difference of ten years between the ages of the teacher and the pupil. Acyuta's date of birth can be taken to be about 1550 A.D.

The known works of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi are *Praveśaka* on Grammar, and *Karaṇottama, Uparāgakriyākrama, Horāsāroccaya* and a commentary on *Veṇvāroha* of Mādhava, all on astronomy.

The *Praveśaka*[2] is an introduction to Sanskrit grammar. It comprises about 600 *anuṣṭubh* stanzas and deals with the different topics in the order the technical terms, rules of interpretation, combinations, declensions, indeclinables, conjugation of verbs in the different tenses and moods, the cases, compounds and the secondary and primary nominal bases. The work is an attempt at elucidating the fundamental principles of Sanskrit grammar in a clear and thorough

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1. *Vide* the writer's Introduction to *Prakriyāsarvasva*, Part III, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 153, p. ix.

2. Edited with a commentary by the late Panditaraja P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, Cochin Sanskrit Series No. 2 (1938).

manner so as to enable the beginner to understand the subject.[1] It has dispensed with many of the technical devices like टि, घः, निष्ठा etc. adopted by Pāṇini and states the rules direct. The ideas are often very clearly illustrated, as for instance,

टित्पीठवदधस्तिष्ठेत् किन्मूर्धनि किरीटवत् ।
मित् स्यादन्त्यस्वराद् ऊर्ध्वं फाले पुण्ड्रवदागमः ॥
स्थाने शत्रुवदादेशाश्छत्रवत् प्रत्ययाः परे । (p. 4)

Some of the illustrative verses have also poetic charm, as for instance,

भृशायते वायुरयं शब्दायन्ते वलाहकाः ।
सुखायन्ते गृहेष्वाढ्या बाष्पायन्ते वियोगिनः ॥ (p. 85)

and

ऊरीकृत्य जवं वृक्षांस्तृणीकृत्य समीरणः ।
मेघान् पटपटाकृत्य सान्द्रीभूय च वात्ययम् ॥ (p. 146)

The author's patron Ravi Varma is referred to through *śleṣa* in the śloka

लक्ष्म्या प्रकाशविषयं[2] राजयन्निजया निजम् ।
नित्यमुद्यन् विजयते सुकृतालम्बनं रविः ॥

in the beginning of the work. According to tradition the author wrote this work to teach his pupil Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri. Whether this is believed or not, it can be seen that the verses in Bhaṭṭatiri's *Prakriyāsarvasva* are in several respects influenced by this work.

Karaṇottama[3] is a work in about a hundred verses on the general principles of astronomy, divided into five chapters,

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1. The author states the aim of the work in the verses (p. 2).

प्रवेशकः संस्क्रियते शब्दशास्त्रप्रवेशकः ।
सुगमोऽयमृजुर्मार्गो बालानां मन्दचेतसाम् ॥
प्रवेशकेन जानन्ति शब्दान् व्याकरणाक्षमाः ।
इक्षुं खादन्ति नादन्ताः रसं शर्करया विदुः ॥
दर्पणे पणमात्रेऽपि दन्ती प्रतिफलेद्यथा ।
तथाल्पेऽपि प्रकरणे महद्व्याकरणं स्फुरेत् ॥

2. *Prakāśaviṣaya* is the Sanskritised form of the Malayalam Veṭṭattunāḍ.

3. Mss. Trivandrum, 660 C, 1165 B, T 552, Madras, R. 663.

respectively dealing with *madhyamānayana, sphuṭānayana, chāyāgrahaṇa* and *lāṭavaidhṛtādi*, and the author has himself added a commentary to it as is seen from the śloka

वैष्णवेनाच्युताख्येन प्रणीतं विवृतं कृतम् ।
करणोत्तममालोक्य परितुष्यन्तु सूरयः ॥

at the end of the work. The importance of the work consists, as the author himself states,[1] in that it embodies the methods of calculation adopted by earlier writers like Parameśvara, (presumably the originator of *Dṛggaṇita*), but which are kept as secrets to be orally instructed by the preceptor to the pupils, and not, therefore, mentioned in their works. These methods enable the calculation of the astronomical constants with a greater degree of accuracy than is possible with the ordinary methods followed. One manuscript of the work, No. 660 C of the University collections in Trivandrum, bears a date corresponding to 1596 A.D.[2]

Uparāgakriyākrama,[3] as the name indicates, is a work on the computation of eclipses. It is divided into four chapters, the first of which deals with the calculation of the *parvānta* and *vikṣepa* common to both the lunar and solar eclipses, the second and third explain the measurements and

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1. Cf. Text:

प्रणिपत्य परं ज्योतिर्गणपत्यपराभिधम् ।
गुरुणोक्तमविस्मर्तुं करणोत्तमयाम्यहम् ॥

Com:

पूर्वप्रणीतेषु सिद्धान्ततन्त्रकरणेषु सत्स्वपि किमपूर्वग्रन्थकरणप्रयासेनेत्यत आह—गुरुणा उक्तमविस्मर्तुमिति । परमेश्वरादिपरीक्षकाचार्यपरम्परया गोप्यत्वेन स्वग्रन्थेष्वनिवेशितस्यापि न्यायविशेषस्य स्वगुरुमुखाद् गृहीतस्य बुद्धेर्विस्मरणधर्मित्वात् कालान्तरे लोपो मा भूदिति प्रबन्धविशेषात्मकत्वेन क्रियत इति भावः ।

2. सोमश्शशाङ्कस्सेव्येऽह्नि पुस्तकं लिखितं त्विदम् ।
नारायणस्य पुत्रेण सुष्ठु केरलशर्मणा ॥

The chronogram सोमश्शशाङ्कस्सेव्यः corresponds to 1596 A.D.

3. Mss. Trivandrum, 404 A, 1165 C. The work is also known as *Kriyākrama*, but the name *Uparāgakriyākrama* occurs in the very first verse. Cf:

मार्ताण्डाख्यं परं ज्योतिर्नत्वास्माभिर्विलिख्यते ।
हिताय मन्दबुद्धीनामुपरागक्रियाक्रमः ॥

calculations for the lunar and solar eclipses respectively, and the last describes the processes relating to the *chāyā* (shadow), a knowledge of which is necessary for calculating the period of the eclipses. As in *Karaṇottama*, in this work also the methods explained are more accurate than those in other works. The differences between the calculations in this and in earlier treatises like *Tantrasaṅgraha*, is explained towards the close of the work in the verses

मध्येन्दुर्यदि 'तन्त्रसङ्ग्रह'समः सूर्यो द्विलिप्ताधिकः
सूर्येन्दुर्मतुलिप्तिकायुतहिलिप्तोनश्च तुङ्गौ क्रमात् ।
युग्मान्ते मनवो रदा मृदुपरिध्यंशास्त ओजावधौ
खाक्षाभ्राब्धिकलोनिता भुजफलं त्रिज्याहतं भाजयेत् ॥

कर्क्यणादिककोटिजाङ्घ्रिरहिताढ्याः त्रिज्ययेन्दोः परः
क्षेपोष्टाहिकरा द्वितीयगतिवत् क्षेपस्य वृद्धिक्षयौ ।
न त्वेतौ नतिबिम्बलम्बनकलानां साहिकाले गति-
बिम्बे खाभ्रनगार्णवा रससुरा षष्टेः कृतिर्भूमितिः ॥

The work ends with the verse

'प्रोक्तः प्रवयसो ध्यानात्' ज्येष्ठदेवस्य सद्गुरोः ।
विच्युताशयदोषेणेत्यच्युतेन क्रियाक्रमः ॥

in which the expression प्रोक्तः प्रवयसो ध्यानात् is explained in a Malayalam commentary on it[1] as a chronogram giving the date of its completion, and it works out to 1593 A.D.[2]

Horāsāroccaya[3] is a small work forming a short summary of Śrīpati's *Jātakapaddhati*, as the author himself says at the commencement of the work in the śloka

भक्त्या गुरूणां चरणारविन्दं नत्वाच्युतो दैवविदां हिताय ।
सारोच्चयं श्रीपतिनिर्मितस्य होरार्थतन्त्रस्य वदाम्यशेषम् ॥

and, therefore, deals with the caculations relating to the casting of horoscopes. It consists of seven chapters and deals with the subjects in the same order as Śrīpati's, namely, *bhāvānayana, dṛṣṭisādhana, dikkālādibalajñāna, iṣṭakaṣṭaphala-*

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1. Mss. Trivandrum, 404 B, CM 173 F, C 531 B.
2. There is another work of the name, *Uparāgakriyākrama* (Ms. Trivandrum, 8376 A, 8324 F), which, though dealing with the same subject, is a different work and is by a Nārāyaṇa.
3. Ms. Trivandrum, 8327 B.

jñāna, āyurdāya, ariṣṭaphala and *daśānirūpaṇa,* the subject of an eighth chapter in Śrīpati's *Paddhati* being omitted here. There is an anonymous commentary on this work in Malayalam.[1]

Veṇvārohavyākhyā[2] is a commentary in Malayaḷam on the *Veṇvāroha*, a work which deals with the accurate calculation of *tithi* and *nakṣatra* by takingnine different *candrasphuṭas* for each full day, written by Mādhava of Iriñjininnapaḷḷi illam. The commentary was written at the commands of the Āḻvāñceri Tamprākkaḷ (Netranārāyaṇa), the spiritual head of the Nampūtiri Brahmins of Malabar.[3]

The Author Index of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, mentions the work *Devakerala* under Acyuta, the author of *Karaṇottama,* and Dr. Koḷatteri Sankara Menon attributes[4] a *Bhūgoḷadīpikā* and *Sphuṭanirṇaya* to our author. Of these, Acyuta, the author of *Devakerala* is a Brahmin,[5] and hence different from our author. As for the other two works, it is not possible to say anything definite. A *Goḷadīpikā* has been published as No. 49 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, but it is by Parameśvara, and no other work of that name seems to have been known; and manuscripts of *Sphuṭanirṇaya* and a commentary on it are known,[6] but both

1. Ms. Trivandrum, 8327 C. The manuscript of the text is incomplete and extends only upto a part of the fifth chapter, but the manuscript of the commentary, though worn-out, is complete and the subject-matter of the text can be gathered from it.

2. Ms. Trivandrum, 10629.

3. Mādhavan tān camaccuḷḷa Veṇvārohattinacyutan |
Bhāṣāvyākhyānam uṇṭākki Netranārāyaṇājñayā ||

4. vide *Bhāṣājātakapaddhati,* Vanchi Setulakshmi Series, No. 3, Trivandrum (1926), Introduction, p. viii.

5. vide *Devakerala* (Ms. Trivandrum, 2470):

केरले विषये कश्चिदच्युतो नाम भूसुरः ।
बृहस्पतिं समुद्दिश्य स चक्रे तप उत्तमम् ॥ etc.

6. Mss. Trivandrum, L 848 B, C 946 B, C 809 C, C 1945 B, Madras, R. 3799 (b).

are anonymous and neither contains anything to indicate its authorship of Acyuta.[1]

Acyuta Piṣāroṭi is regarded as the originator of a school of astronomy in Kerala and to the line of his disciples belonged Tṛppāṇikkara Poduvāḷ, Nāvāyikkuḷattu Āḷāti, Pulimukhattu Potti, Neḍumpayil Kṛṣṇan Āśān and several others of outstanding fame in the field.

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1. My friend, Mr. K. V. Sarma of the University of Madras, informs me that he has been recently able to discover an unknown work of Acyuta by name *Rāśigolasphuṭānīti* while examining the Malayalam Ms. No. 339 in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, given the anomalous title *Parahitadṛksiddhagaṇitam.* This work deals with the accurate determination of the positions of planets, their motions, orbits etc. It begins as

इन्दुमार्गतिरश्चीनं द्विस्पृक्सूत्रं भवेद्यथा ।
तदैव परमासत्तिर्ग्रहणे सोमसूर्ययोः ॥
मध्यकाले तु न तथा द्विस्पृक्सूत्रस्य संस्थितिः ।
परमग्रासकालोऽतो भिद्यते मध्यकालतः ॥

and ends

अयमेव हि संस्कारो लघूकृत्य क्रियाक्रमे ।
तेनैव क्षेपवीर्यांशं कुर्यादित्यादिनेरितः ॥
राशिगोलस्फुटानीतिरच्युतेनैवमीरितम् ।
क्रान्तिवृत्तगतिश्चैवमानेया गोलवित्तमैः ॥

thereby indicating its author to be Acyuta. In the course of this work occur the lines

इति पक्षे हि पर्वान्तस्साम्यकालो न केवलम् ।
अस्मिन् पक्षेऽपि चन्द्रस्य राशिगोलस्फुटाप्तये ॥
स्फुटीकरणतः पश्चात् कार्यं यत्नान्तरं यतः ।
तत्प्रकारश्चाच्युतेन कीर्तितः स्फुटनिर्णये ॥

which show that Acyuta *has written a Sphuṭanirṇaya,* though we cannot say for certain whether the work of that name now available is really his.

ACCESSION OF GAJAPATI BHĀNU IV

BY

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There is difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the initial year of the reign of the last imperial Gaṅga monarch, Bhānu IV, son of Narasiṁha IV. It is established on the evidence of a number of inscriptions that Narasiṁha IV began to rule in 1378-79 A.D. and that his son Bhānu IV was succeeded in 1434-35 A.D. by the great Kapilendra who established the rule of the celebrated Sūrya-vaṁśa or solar dynasty in Orissa. But the exact date when Narasiṁha IV died and was succeeded by his son is not definitely indicated by any of the epigraphic records so far discovered.

M. M. Chakravarti's "Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa" (*J. A. S. B.*, 1903, pp. 97-147), which still remains the best work on the subject, regards Śāka 1324 (1402 A.D.) as the latest definitely known date of the reign of Narasiṁha IV. But the date of a Srikurmam inscription of the time of this king was doubtfully read as Śaka 1346 (1424 A.D.) and Chakravarti thought that the possibility of the extension the king's rule up to that year was not out of question. Following this suggestion, scholars like R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 287, and H. C. Ray in his *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 501, give *circa* 1425 A.D. as the last year of the reign of Narasiṁha IV, although it is difficult to determine why Sewell in his *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (edited by S. K. Aiyangar), 1932, p. 358, regards 1397 A.D. (the last of the three dates in one of the Puri plates, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I. pp. 128-54) as the latest definite date of the reign of this king. But the date of the Srikurmam inscription in question is probably Śaka 1316 and is certainly not Śaka 1346. That Narasiṁha IV did not rule up to Śaka 1346 is definitely proved by the fact that we have now some inscriptions of his son and successor Bhānu IV, the earliest of which bear dates in Śaka 1336 (1414 A.D.).

In recent years, R. Subba Rao made an exhaustive study of the inscriptions of the Gaṅga age in his *History of Kaliṅga*,

originally published in instalments in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry. The author refers to Chakravarti's statement regarding Śaka 1324 (1402 A.D.) as the latest definitely known date of the reign of Narasiṁha IV and says that it has "to be revised now owing to the discovery of several new inscriptions of Narasiṁha IV dated later than the Śaka year 1324" (*op. cit.*, p. 219). The learned author analyses a large number of inscriptions under the reign of Narasiṁha IV; but a careful examination of all these records shows that most of them do not refer to the king at all and have absolutely nothing to say whether he was living on the dates borne by them. Even according to Subba Rao's analysis, No. 1066 of *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. VI, gives Śaka 1324 as equivalent to the thirtyfirst Aṅka year (*i.e.* the twentyfifth regnal year) of Narasiṁha IV. Thus we are practically at the same place where Chakravarti stood half a century ago.

Narasiṁha IV had many queens some of whom (such as Tārādevī styled *Paṭṭamahishī*, Pārvatīdevī, Birujādevī, Nīladevī[1] and Uttamadevī) are known to have made certain grants which are recorded in inscriptions. Only two of these grants bear dates later than Śaka 1324. According to *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 731, Pārvatīdevī-mahādevī, described as the wife of Narasiṁha IV and of the Gajapati, made a grant in Śaka 1328 (1406 A. D.) for the fulfilment of her own wishes. There is no indication in the record which would suggest that the royal husband of the donor was living when she was making the grant in favour of the god at Simhachalam. According to *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1072, Nīladevī-mahādevī made an exactly similar gift in favour of the same god in Śaka 1335 (1413 A.D.). There is no mention at all of the donor's husband in this record, although in an earlier grant of the same type made in Śaka 1311 (1389 A.D.) the queen is mentioned as the wife of Narasiṁha IV (*ibid.*, No. 1008). Subba Rao assumes that king Narasiṁha IV was living not only when Pārvatīdevī-mahādevī made her grant in Śaka 1328 but also when Nīladevī-mahādevī made hers in Śaka 1335. Now it is impossible to say that widowed queens never made

1. A Gajapati queen Nīlamaṇi, styled *Pāṭṭamahādevī*, is mentioned in *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1145. We do not know whether she may be identified with Nīladevī.

any grant in favour of a deity. A Simhachalam inscription (*ibid.*, No. 752) says how in Śaka 1305 (1383 A.D.) Birujādevī, queen of *Pedda* (elder)[1] Narasiṁha IV Gajapati, and Tāradevī queen of Bhānu III (father of Narasiṁha IV) granted gifts in favour of the god Narasiṁha of Simhachalam. In this case Tārādevī, mentioned as the queen of Bhānu III who died in 1378-79 A.D., was a widow. In view of Tārādevī's case, it is impossible to be definite from the mention of Pārvatīdevī-mahādevī as the wife of Narasiṁha IV in her record of Śaka 1328 that the king was living when the grant was made. The case of Nīlādevī-mahādevī's grant of Śaka 1335 is even weaker as the absence of her husband's name in the record may be an indication that the king was no longer living. It can hardly be argued that the absence of any reference to the name of the successor of their husband in the above records points to the rule of Narasiṁha IV at the time when the grants were made. Because, as is well known, the majority of the inscriptions in the Srikurmam and Simhachalam temples do not at all refer to the reigning monarch. The wives and officials of kings are often found to have referred to their relations with royal personages apparently for glorifying themselves. After the death of her husband a queen is thus sometimes found to mention herself as the mother or a relation of the former's successor. It seems to us therefore that we are as yet not in a position to determine the definite date of the death of Narasiṁha IV and the accession of his son Bhānu IV. For this we have to wait for the discovery of an inscription of Bhānu IV dated both in the Śaka and the Aṅka year.

In a recent article on Gajapati Bhānu IV published in the *Journal of Oriental Research,* Vol. XIX, pp. 135-47, N. Venkataramanayya says, "It is generally believed that he succeeded his father in A.D. 1414, or a little earlier, and ruled the kingdom up to A.D. 1434 when after his death

1. The Telugu epithet *Pedda* applied to the king suggests that Narasiṁha IV is no other than the Gaṅga ruler of that name mentioned in the Bhubaneswar bilingual inscription (*J P.A.S.B.*, Vol. XX, pp. 41-45) which uses the expressions *Bara* and *Periya* with reference to the king respectively in its Oriya and Tamil versions. King Narasiṁha of the above record is usually identified with Gaṅga Narasiṁha I (1238-64 A.D.) without sufficient justification.

Kapileśvara of the solar family usurped the throne....... An inscription of Srikurmam (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1205) equates his 3rd Aṅka with Kali 4512 (Śaka 1333), and this points to Śaka 1331 as the year of his accession. The reign of his father Narasiṁha IV must have come to an end in A.D. 1409 and Bhānudeva must have ascended the throne in the same year". In this connection the learned author refers to M. S. Sarma's *The History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, p. 189, note 48, where the above suggestion was originally made. This view is however based entirely on a misunderstanding. The inscription in question is dated in the Śaka year counted by the words 'sun' (*i.e.* 12), 'arrow' (*i.e.* 5) and 'sea' (*i.e.* 4) and records the installation of the images of King Narasiṁha and Gaṅgāmbikā (no doubt Narasiṁha's wife) by King Bhānu (apparently Narasiṁha's son) in his third Aṅka or second regnal year. It will be seen that the date is given clearly in the Śakābda and not in the Kaliyugābda. Although there seems to be a mistake in the expression of the date in words, there is hardly any doubt that in this case Narasimha and his son Bhānu are respectively the Gaṅga monarchs Narasiṁha III (Śaka 1249-74=1327-52 A.D.) and his son Bhānu III (Śaka 1274-1300=1352-78 A.D.). This is clearly suggested by the identity of Gaṅgāmbikā. A number of inscriptions (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 933, 1052, 1189-90, 1225-27) of this queen of Narasiṁha III bear dates ranging between Śaka 1263 (1341 A.D.) and Śaka 1274 (1352 A.D.). An inscription at Simhachalam (*ibid.*, No. 1046) shows that in Śaka 1275 (1353 A D.) Bhānu III made arrangements for the offering of the *Gaṅgābhoga* or *Gaṅgā-Nārasiṁha-bhoga* which is said to have been instituted previously by his father Narasiṁha IV and the latter's wife Gaṅgādevī jointly in favour of the god Narasimha of Simhachalam. The *bhoga* is mentioned in Gaṅgādevī's own inscription ((*ibid.*, No. 1052) of Śaka 1272 (1350 A.D.) as instituted by herself for the increase of the dominions of her husband Narasiṁha IV and for herself gaining property, a good son (*su-tanaya*) and fame. In view of these records, it is really difficult to take Gaṅgāmbikā known from the Srikurmam inscription to be an as yet unknown wife of Narasimha IV, no less than five of whose queens are known from their own inscriptions. This can hardly be regarded as a case of 'mere *argumentum ex silentio*.

As regards the date in Śakābda expressed in the Srikurmam inscription by words meaning 12, 5 and 4, Rangachari in his *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 690, takes it to be Śaka 1254 (1332 A.D.). It is no doubt possible, as the principle of arranging the figures in a reversed order, although that is normally noticed in such expressions of dates, was sometimes ignored by the writers of inscriptions. But that Śaka year cannot be equated with the third Aṅka or second regnal year of any of the Gaṅga kings named Bhānu. Subba Rao (*ibid.*, p. 200) therefore took the word 'sea' to mean 'seven' (according to a well known Puranic theory) instead of the usual 'four' and applies the principle of reversion only to the words 'arrow' (*i.e.* five) and 'sea' (*i.e.* 'seven' according to him). Thus he gets Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) which can be equated with the second regnal year of Bhānu III. This process is not quite normal; but, considering the poor knowledge exhibited by the writers and engravers of hundreds of inscriptions, it is not possible to regard Subba Rao's suggestion as absurd. Sarma regards the expression *Śākābde* as a mistake for *Yugābde* and, applying the usual principle of reversion of the words expressing numbers, gets the Kaliyuga year 4512 (1411 A.D.). But even if the possibility of the wrong use of *Śākābde* for *Yugābde* be accepted, the reference to Gaṅgāmbikā in the record, as shown above, makes Sarma's position absolutely untenable. Under the circumstances therefore we may either agree with Subba Rao's interpretation of the date of the Srikurmam inscription or think that, as in many other records (cf. *ibid.*, No. 772 giving Śaka 1293=1371 A.D. as the second Aṅka or first regnal year of Bhānu III, 1352-78 A.D.) there is a mistake in the date portion of the inscription.

That No. 1205 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, belongs to the age of Gaṅga Bhānu III is suggested by another fact. The record mentions the following officers of the Gaṅga king: (1) *Kaliṅga-parīksha* Purushottama Jīyyana (Jenā), (2) *Bhoga-parīksha* Nārāyaṇa Mahāsenāpati, and (3) *Dvāra-nāyaka* Keśavanātha Paṇḍita. Of these *Kaliṅga-parīksha* Purushottama Jīyyana is mentioned in *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1064, dated Śaka 1283 (1361 A.D.) and in other inscriptions (cf. *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1156, etc.). As regards the unrecognition of *aṅkānāṁ vāmato gatiḥ*, reference may be made, out of many instances (cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 1222, 1237, etc.),

to *ibid.*, No. 1213, dated Śaka *śaśi-netra-bāṇa-nayana*=1252 (1330 A.D.) corresponding to the 4th Aṅka or 3rd regnal year of Gaṅga Narasiṁha III. It may also be noticed that in some cases (cf. *ibid.*, No. 1218) the word 'sea' is used to signify 7 instead of 4.

Another interesting question to be settled in this connection is whether Gaṅgādevī (Gaṅgāmbikā) was the mother or stepmother of Bhānu III. The Puri plates of his son Narasiṁha IV (*J. A. S. B*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 128-54) give the name of the mother of Bhānu III as Kamaladevī who is however not known from the Simhachalam and Srikurmam inscriptions. On the strength of the above-mentioned inscriptions of Gaṅgādevī, Subba Rao thinks that Gaṅgādevī (Gaṅgāmbikā) was just another name of Kamaladevī. But the facts that the Simhachalam inscription of Bhānu III, dated Śaka 1275, as well as the Srikurmam inscription discussed above does not mention Gaṅgādevī as his mother and that in Śaka 1272 Gaṅgādevī was making a grant for getting a *su-tanaya* (a good son) apparently because she was young enough and had no son even about the end of her husband's life appear to show that she was only a stepmother of Bhānu III. Kamaladevī may have predeceased her husband's accession to the throne.

RULERS OF NĀBHIRĀJA LINEAGE

BY

P. B. DESAI, *Ootacamund.*

Students of Indian History are familiar with a large number of ruling families that claimed their descent from kings of the epic or Puranic fame. Yet one more family of such rulers is forthcoming from an unknown quarter. An inscription in the Rāmaliṅga temple at Hoḍal[1] in the Gulbarga District of the Hyderabad State furnishes interesting information about a family of chiefs who belonged to the lineage of Nābhirāja. The epigraph mentions the regime of the Kalachuri king Saṅkamadēva and introduces his subordinate Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīra Goṅkarasa. This chief was a scion of the family of rulers who, as the inscription states, descended from Nābhirāja. The early ancestors of this house were masters of the city of Kopaṇa. The genealogy of a few subsequent members, as narrated in the record, runs as follows:

- Dhāṅka
- Goṅka I
  - Javanakula
  - Bibba
    - Goṅka II
      - Rājarasa
      - Karta
      - Mallidēva
      - Goṅka III

Nābhirāja, according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, was the eldest son of Agnīdhra who was the grandson of Svāyambhuva Manu. Ṛshabha who is considered to be the eighth *avatāra* of Vishṇu was the son of Nābhirāja.[2] While recounting the

1. This inscription was copied by me some years back. It is unpublished and forms part of my private epigraphic collection. The information being revealed here for the first time is based on the text of the record in my possession. This topic is also discussed in my book on *South Indian Jainism* under publication.

2. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar: *The Purana Index*, Vol. II, pp. 224 and 447.

legendary account, Nâbhirāja is referred to in an inscription at Iṭagi,[3] dated A.D. 1112, in the reign of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI.

The inscription at Hoḍal under reference bears the date Śaka 1102, Śārvarī, corresponding to A.D. 1180. It registers a gift of land made by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīra Goṅkarasa and Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mallidēvarasa for the benefit of the deities Prasanna Rāmēśvara, Dūchēśvara and Chenna-Kēśava at Hoḍal. T e two dònor chiefs bore among others the characteristic title *Alade-veḍaṅga* which may be interpreted as "an ornament of Alade." It is easy to identify this Alade with Alande or the tract of Alande Thousand met with in the inscriptions of this area.[4] It included roughly a large portion of the present day Gulbarga District. The title thus indicates the association of these chiefs with the region of Alande. In regard to Hoḍal we are told that it was a village included in the group of sixty villages which formed part of the tract known as One Hundred and Twenty Villages of Goṅka.

A feudatory chief by name Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bibbarasa was functioning as a subordinate of the Chālukya queen Chandaladēvī as revealed by an epigraph[5] found in a Jaina temple at Huṇasi-Haḍagali in the same Gulbarga District. This inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI and is dated A.D. 1098. This Bibbarasa bore the characteristic titles, *Kopaṇapuravarādhīśvara* (Lord of Kopaṇa, the best of cities) and *Alande-veḍaṅga* (Oınament of Alande), and was administering the tract of Sixty Villages in the area of One Hundred and Twenty Villages of Goṅka, situated in the district of Alande. Since many of the details gathered from the Hoḍal epigraph regarding the rulers of Nābhirāja lineage, such as their early home which was Kopaṇa and later settlement in the region of Alande, are identical in the case of Bibbarasa as indicated by the Huṇasi-Haḍagali record, we are justified in equating this chief with his namesake who figures in the above genealogical

3. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XIII, pp. 42 and 50.

4. Compare for instance Aland inscription of Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna (my private collection). This epigraph is published in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 31ff.

5. This inscription also belongs to my private collection. It is critically edited in my forthcoming book on *Jainism in South India*.

statement, taking into consideration the fact that at least three elderly members intervened between Bibba and Goṅka III who are removed by a span of about eighty years.

Two chiefs named Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīra Rāmadēvarasa and Mahāmaṇḍlēśvara Vīra Goṅkarasa who bore the title *Kopaṇapuravarādhīśvara* and claimed to have belonged to the lineage of Nābhirāja, figure in an inscription from Harasūr[6] in the same Gulbarga District. The record is dated A.D. *1172* in the reign of the Kalachuri king Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva. In the absence of necessary details we are not in a position to determine the precise relationship of these two chiefs with those described in the Hoḍal record.

As seen from the Hoḍal epigraph, these chiefs originally hailed from Kopaṇa which is modern Kopbal in the Raichur District of the Hyderabad State. It is not known at what period of time they stayed at Kopbal and what were the causes that forced them to leave this early home of theirs and migrate towards the north for the region of Alande. It is however interesting to note that there were a few more families of subordinate chiefs who owned the title *Kopaṇa-puravarādhīśvara* signifying their authority over the same ancient and eminent city of Kopaṇa. For instance members of a branch of the Śilāhāra stock ruling in the area of the Bijapur District, Bombay State, displayed this title conspicuously in their *praśasti*.[7]

6. My unpublished private collection.

7. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 69. For other instances of the chiefs bearing this title see foot note 4 on the same page.

VĀCHASPATI, GENERAL OF RĀSHTRAKŪṬA KṚISHṆA III

BY

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, *Ootacamund.*

While going through the *Progress Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle,* I came across a short notice of an inscription in the *Report* for the year 1913-14 (p. 59) issued by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. It is as follows:

" There was a fragmentary inscription originally discovered in the Bhilsā Town Hall, but now no longer traceable, which, according to Dr. Hall recorded the erection, by Vāchaspati, minister of Rājā Kṛishṇa, of a temple to the sun under the appellation Bhāillēśa on the Vētravatī (Betwa) river."

I became more interested in the record when I read a short summary of its contents given by Prof. Mirashi in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 279-80. The source of his information was a full text of this fragmentary inscription which is published by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. XXXI (1862), p. 111, *f.n.* I give below its full text as published by Dr. Hall.

1. . . . . śriyamayam=api nanv=āśritā n=āśrit=āsya
2. gēhaṁ mē Vētravatyā niyamita-janatā-kshōbham=asy=āpy=ajasram |
3. tējōmayy=atra ch=ōchchair=vvitatam=iti viditv=ādareṇ=ātma-tulyaṁ
4. Bhāillasvāmi-nāmā ravir=avatu bhuvaḥ svāminaṁ Kṛishṇa-rājam ||
5. Chēd-īśam samarē vijitya Śabaraṁ saṁhṛitya Siṁh-āhvayaṁ
6. Rālā-maṇḍala-Rōdapādy-avanipau bhūmyāṁ pratishṭhāpya cha |
7. Dēvaṁ drashṭum=ih=āgatō rachitavāṁ(n) stōtraṁ pavitraṁ paraṁ
8. Śrīmat-Kṛishṇa-nṛip-aika - mantri - pada - bhāk Kauṇḍinya-Vāchaspatiḥ ||

9. Suchiram=iyaṁ kṛitir=āstāṁ ruchirā śrīmad-Gajāṁ-kuśēyasya

10. Kākūkēna vilikhitā Kāyastha-śē......................"

Of the three verses preserved in the inscription, of which the third is incomplete, the first verse contains a prayer addressed to the sun-god *Bhāillasvāmin* enshrined in a temple of great beauty and height on the bank of the Vētravatī calling upon the god to protect Kṛishṇarāja, the master of the universe. The second states that Vāchaspati of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, the chief minister of Kṛishṇa-nṛipa, after defeating the the lord of Chēdi and slaying a Śabara prince Siṁha, placed the kings of Rālā-maṇḍala and Rōdapādi on the throne and repaired to the temple (at Bhilsā) where he composed a holy *stōtra.* The third verse, which is benedictory, expresses the ardent wish that the meritorious work (*kṛiti*), *i.e.*, the *stōtra* mentioned in the previous verse, of Ga(Gā)jāṅkuśēya, which was engraved by Kākūka, might last for ever.

Evidently these three verses form a sort of colophon to a holy *stōtra* composed by Vāchaspati apparently in praise of God Bhāillēśa. It would also appear that a large portion of the inscription at the beginning must have contained this very *stōtra* itself which is now untraceable. Nevertheless, even this fragment of an inscription proves so valuable as it brings to light for the first time the existence of a generalissimo called Vāchaspati, son of a certain Gajāṅkuśa of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* who flourished under a king known as Kṛishṇarāja.

Prof. Mirashi[1] suggested that the above Kṛishṇa-nṛipa might be the Chandēlla chief Kṛishṇapa, son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in some stone inscriptions at Dudahi in the Lalitpur District, some 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. But as will be shown below this identification need not stand any longer.

It was by mere chance that I was able to get the clue to what I consider to be the correct identification of this monarch. In one of the Sālōtgī Pillar inscriptions[2] dated Śaka 867, *i.e.*, 945 A.C. and falling in the reign of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III mention is made of his chief minister and *sandhivigrahin* Nārāyaṇa surnamed Gajāṅkuśa of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* who was a poet of great merit and a propagator of learning. I reproduce below the translation of that part of the inscription

1. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXV, p. 280.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 58, 60, 62.

describing him and his benefactions as published in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

"(*Vv.* 11-18). In the prosperous Māhisha district, in the village Kāñchanamuduvōl, there dwells (or dwelt) one Nārāyaṇa, the son of Dāmaparya, of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra,* a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Vājasanēya Vēda, prosperous, affable, and powerful, like a second Nārāyaṇa. For his learning known everywhere by the name of Gajāṅkuśa, he is (or was) the chief minister of Kṛishṇarāja, being his minister of peace and war. He was his deputy, dear to him like his right hand, and was full of vigour, employed by him in matters of peace and war. Conversant with all the rules of state policy, a first-rate poet and kindly speaking, he, delighting in the law, shines like the law embodied in human form. He got this school made here, magnificent in its splendour and handsome, a creation, as it were, made by the creator after his own will, in which he placed the three principal gods. This school shines forth like Manōvatī joined by Brahman; here there are scholars born in various lands. For them a maintenance has been provided, the details of which as regards places, times and so on, are set forth now, in order that the good report of this may be known."

In the above account we are introduced to a person of the name of Nārāyaṇa *alias* Gajāṅkuśa of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* who was not only a learned man himself but a propagator of learning for, he is stated to have established an educational seminary for students. He was, besides, the trusted minister for peace and war of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. Besides the above inscription from Sālōtgi another record from Maḍakaśira, Anantapur District, dated Śaka 870, Kīlaka, (948-9 A. C.) mentions this same general Gajāṅkuśa as a servant of the Ballaha, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa III, and as having gone on a campaign against the Chōḻa.[1]

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1. *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, part i, No. 25. The name of this general has been read as Gajāṅkuśa-Chōḻa. But Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, the Government Epigraphist for India, whom I consulted, thinks that the relevent passage can also be split up as *Ballahana besad-āḻu Gajāṅkuśa Chōḻana mēge daṇḍu vōgalu*, etc., thus referring to an officer called Gajāṅkuśa and not to a person named Gajāṅkuśa-Chōḻa.

Now, Vāchaspati of the Bhilsā fragmentary inscription bears the surname *Ga(Gā)jāṅkuśēya, i.e.*, son of Gajāṅkuśa, is of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, was a poet of no mean order, and like Nārāyaṇa-Gajāṅkuśa was a minister and generalissimo of a Kṛishṇarāja. From so many common characteristics between the two ministers it can be safely concluded that they were father and son and that Kṛishṇarāja under whom they both served must be an identical ruler, *i.e.*, Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. Early in his reign the emperor seems to have had as his war minister Gajāṅkuśa-Nārāyaṇa. He was succeeded by his son Gājāṅkuśēya-Vāchaspati in the same post towards the latter part of the reign of the same monarch.

Although the history of the reign of Kṛishṇa III is fairly well known, that he had a minister and general called Vāchaspati is for the first time brought to light by the Bhilsā inscription. From the account we have of him in this record it is learnt that he secured for his master resounding victories over two contemporary princes, *viz.*, the Chēdi king and a Śabara chief called Siṁha. Further, the general restored to their kingdoms two chiefs, of whom one was the ruler of Rāḷā-maṇḍala and the other, the king of Rōdapādi. That an inscription of a general of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III should be found so far north as Bhilsā which lay in the Pratīhāra dominion at this period and that it should recount some military conquests of this general Vāchaspati are profoundly significant. The circumstances under which this expedition in the north was undertaken by the Rāshṭrakūṭa general may be envisaged in the following manner.

It is believed on the strength of a verse (25) of the Karhad Plates[1] that as *Yuvarāja*, Kṛishṇa III fought a Chēdi king whom some scholars have identified with Yuvarājadēva I (c. 915-945 A. C.) who is also known to have fought against the Karṇāṭas, *i e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[2] But it does not, however, seem possible that Vāchaspati's victory over the Chēdi king was secured in this conflict between Kṛishṇa and the

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 279-80.

2. *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XI, p 371; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII (1933), pp. 35 ff. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, however, doubts if the verse in the Karhad Plates really support the meaning and interpretation that a Kalachuri king was actually defeated by the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince (*J.O.R.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 155-58.)

Chēdis which is stated to have taken place while the Rāshṭrakūṭa was yet a *Yuvarāja*. There are two reasons why Vāchaspati's exploits cannot be placed so early in Kṛishṇa's reign. In the first place, even as late as Saka 867, *i.e.*, 945 A.C. and 948-9 A.C., Vāchaspati's father Gajāṅkuśa-Nārāyaṇa was functioning as the minister for peace and war of the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch and so Vāchaspati could have succeeded to that office only after that date. Secondly Kṛishṇa as *Yuvarāja* does not seem to have extended his military march so far north as Bhilsā in the kingdom of the Pratīhāras but had gone up only upto the Chēdi country. The verse (25) of the Deoli Plates[1] (*s.a.* verse 30 of the Karhad Plates)[2] referring to the forts of Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa in Bundelkhand is clear in implying that Kṛishṇa did not actually capture the forts himself but that these forts being already in the possession of the Rāshṭrakūṭas or their vassals, the Paramāras, the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra would not dare to attack them hearing as he did the resounding victories of Kṛishṇa in the south. On the other hand the exploits of Vāchaspati described the Bhilsā inscription not only include a successful fight against a Chēdi king but also other significant achievements. Hence this expedition must have taken place later in Kṛishṇa's reign. It is not, however, difficult to fix the date of this campaign.

Now, it is well known that Kṛishṇa III effected an invasion of north India sometime after 963-4 A.C. as proved by an inscription of his at Jūra near Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh,[3] in the territory of the Chēdis. It is also known that in this expediton he was accompanied by his Gaṅga feudatory, Mārasiṁha II, who, in commemoration of the victories secured by him in the north assumed the title of 'the Lord of the Gūrjaras'. The expedition seems to have been necessitated by the growing challenge to Rāshṭrakūṭa authority over their possessions in Bundelkhand, Mālwā and Lāṭa. In fact some successful attempts were made by the neighbouring powers to encroach upon them. The earliest attempt in this direction seems to have been made by the Chandēlla ruler, Yaśōvarman (c. 950 A.C.). The Khajuraho inscription (II)[4] of his son

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, p. 194.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 284.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 289; *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, pp. 120-1.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 128, v. 31.

Dhaṅga dated V.S. 1011 states that Yaśōvarman captured the fort of Kālañjara. This fort, as mentioned above, had been a Rāshṭrakūṭa possession since at least 935 A.C. Yaśōvarman followed up this success by overrunning the kingdom of Mālwā which must have been under the rule of the Paramāras under Sīyaka II, a Rāshṭrakūṭa vassal. The same Khajuraho inscription testifies to this event as it describes Yaśōvarman as 'the god of death to the Mālavas,' (v. 23). His son Dhaṅga seems to have actually occupied a portion of Mālwā soon after his accession, for the same Khajuraho inscription (v. 45) states that he acquired the territory as far as Bhāsvat on the river of Mālava, *i. e.*, Bhilsā on the river Vētravatī. Besides the Chandēlla ruler, the Chēdi king Lakshmaṇarāja (c. 945-70 A. C.) setting at nought the authority of the Rāshṭrakūṭas over Mālwā and Lāṭa marched across these territories as far as Sōmanātha-Paṭan in Saurāshṭra, (Kathiawar)[1]. All these encroachments seem to have been made at the instigation of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra ruler. For, we have it explicitly stated in the Kudlur Plates of Mārasiṁha II of 963 A. C. that Krishṇa III, the *Narapati*, set out on an expedition to the north to conquer the *Aśvapati*.[2] The *Aśvapati* was the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra ruler to whom this title has to be applied at this period.[3] Moreover, the distinguishing appellation. 'King of the Gūrjaras,' donned by Mārasiṁha II in commemoration of his conquest of the north on behalf of his master, would support the surmise that it was against the Pratīhāra ruler that the expedition was primarily directed. There is also reason to believe that even Paramāra Sīyaka Harsha II who figures as a Rāshṭrakūṭa vassal in the Harshōla grants of 949 A. C. had subsequently become recalcitrant and not only had perhaps connived at the encroachments into Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions made by the Chēdi and the Chandēlla but had also himself defied his Rāshṭrakūṭa suzerain. For, according to an account of Sīyaka II in the *Navasāhasāṅka-charitra*[4], he is stated to have defeated a certain chief of Ruḍapāṭī. Now the Bhilsā inscription states that Vāchaspati

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1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 102-3.

2. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1921, paras 41 ff., text lines 123-4.

3. *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, pp. 196-99; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 124 and Vol. XIV, p. 180.

4. Canto XI, v. 89: *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 42.

restored a chief of Rōdapādi. It seems probable that the two chiefs are identical and that Vāchaspati reinstated the prince who seems to have been dispossessed earlier by Śīyaka II. The enemy who similarly dispossessed the chief of Rālā-maṇḍala whom Vāchaspati restored cannot be so easily identified. In the first place, Rālā-maṇḍala, as the name of a territory, if the reading of its name by Dr. Hall is correct, has not been met with elsewhere. If, however, it is a corruption for Lāṭa-maṇḍala, which seems very likely, a chief of Lāṭa might have been dispossessed by either the Chēdi king who raided as far as Sōmanātha-Paṭan or by one of the Chālukya chiefs of Anahilvāḍa-Paṭan. In any case it is difficult to ascertain who was the rightful ruler of Lāṭa—assuming that Rālā-maṇḍala of the inscription is Lāṭa-maṇḍala—that was reinstated by Vāchaspati. In regard to the Śabara prince Siṁha killed by Vāchaspati, Prof. Mirashi has made a very plausible suggestion that he might be a vassal of the Chēdi king [1] But it would be profitable to recall in this connection that Mārasiṁha II is also credited with a victory over a Śabara chief but his name is given in the inscription as Naraga.[2] Assuming that this victory over Naraga was secured by Mārasiṁha in his northern campaign undertaken as a camp-follower of Kṛishṇa III, it may be suggested that Naraga might either be identical with Śabara Siṁha, the adversary of Vāchaspati, or was a close relative of that chief.

From the foregoing account it is learnt that Vāchaspati, as the supreme commander of Kṛishṇarāja's troops secured for his master resounding victories in this northern campaign and left a commemorative record of the success in the Bhilsā inscription. In this connection one wonders if the Kṛishṇēśvara temple at Gyāraspur, the existence of which is testified to by a pilgrim's record[3] of date V. S. 1039, *i.e.*, 982 A. C., mentioning a Kṛishṇa temple, owes its foundation to Kṛishṇa III in whose name the deity was perhaps installed

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1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 279-80.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp 171ff. and text lines 21, 54 and 96.

3. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1913-14, ins. no. 2639, p. 61. Prof. Mirashi (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, p. 280) states by mistake that this inscription is found at Maser whereas it is at Gyāraspur.

and enshrined at the successful conclusion of his *uttara-digvijaya*, for which the ability and valour of Gājāṅkuśēya-Vāchaspati were primarily responsible.

Owing to the distinction attained by Nārāyaṇa-Gajāṅkuśa and his son Gājāṅkuśēya-Vāchaspati in the service of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors, particularly in the time of Kṛishṇa III, later members of the family also seem to have held the office of military generalship as if by hereditary right. For, some members of the family are found holding the same office in the time of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi who succeeded the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Two of them are known, *viz.*, *Mahāprachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* Prabhu-Kēsarināyaka and his son Ambarasa, who flourished under Kumāra Tailapa, the son of Vikramāditya in 1114 A.C.[1] The description given of them is that they belonged to the family of Gajāṅkuśa (*Gajāṅkuśa-kula-tilaka*) who seems none else than Nārāyaṇa-Gajāṅkuśa, father of Gājāṅkuśēya-Vāchaspati. Another family which rose to fame under the Rāshṭrakūṭas and which in like manner continued to be distinguished in subsequent times under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi was that of Maṇale-arasa. Many of his descendants describing themselves as belonging to the *Maṇalēr-ānvaya* figure in Western Chālukya inscriptions.[2]

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1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII, p. 73 (Akkalkot inscription of Silahara Indarasa, text line 38.)

2. For an account of this family see Introduction to *S. I. I.* (*Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions*), Vol. XI, part ii.

RÂMÂYAṆA IN LAOS*

BY

HENRI DEYDIER,

Conservator of the Louis Finot Museum.

The extraordinary vogue which the Rāmāyaṇa has enjoyed in Greater India is such that an eminent savant could write that "from one end to the other people continue to weep at the misfortunes of Rāma and Sitā." Nevertheless the great Indian epic has undergone numerous changes and a study of the non-Indian versions, especially Indo-Chinese and Malayan, has shown great divergences which exist between those and the text of Vālmīki. In Indo-China there are, above all, the bas-reliefs of the Khmer monuments, particularly those of Angkor Vat, and inscriptions which testify to the thorough knowledge of the epic in the households of the artisans and image-makers of ancient Cambodia. At Champa an inscription of Tra-Kieu mentions the establishment of a temple dedicated to Vālmīki. And there exist likewise redactions in the vernaculars. *Ream-ker*, published by the Buddhist Institute of Phnom-Penh and the Siamese *Riem Kien* of which there are several analyses and translations, prove that these versions, although inspired by Vālmīki, are often much removed from it. The existence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Laos was known only by the story of Mulla Tantai, noticed by Louis Finot in his principal work, the Laotian literature (*Litterature Laotienne*). This brief allusion to the Indian epic did not make one suspect the existence of a complete redaction of the poem in Laotian.

An examination of the manuscripts in the library of the Vat Pra Keo at Vientiane made me aware that the tale entitled *Pra Lak Pra Lam* was, in fact, only a local adaptation of the Rāmāyaṇa. A study of this big manuscript proves that we have here to deal with an original redaction, not only greatly differing from Vālmīki's but equally divergent from the Khmer and Siamese versions.

Nang Canda, daughter of Dataratha, King of Candapurisisattanāgamāhanagara (Vientiane), is abducted by Rāvaṇa, son of Virulaha, king of Indrapattanagara. Dataratha prays to God Indra to obtain a son who would be able to kill

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* Courtesy: *France-Asie*, 78, Nov. 1952; English version by K. V. Sarma.

Rāvaṇa. Indra sends down a *devaputra,* Pra Lam (Rāma). The latter with the help of his brother brings Nang Canda back to Vientiane.

Rāvaṇa is expelled by his father, the king of Indrapattanagara, and establishes himself at Laṅkā. Once while being shown the heavenly abode of Indra, he takes advantage of Indra's inattention to bespoil one of the inmates of the harem. The latter prays to be permitted to revenge herself. She comes down to the earth, becomes the daughter of Rāvaṇa and makes an attempt to kill him. Rāvaṇa, thereupon, exiles her. Let to drift in a junk, she is rescued by a hermit who adopts her and names her Sītā. The fame of her beauty spreads around, even upto Rāma who decides to go to espouse her. Rāvaṇa who cannot now remember that it is his own daughter, comes in competition to Rāma. But Rāma alone having been able to bend the divine bow of the hermit, becomes the husband of Sītā. (This is the place of the episode of the golden deer and the abduction of Sītā). Rāma starts in pursuit of his wife, but he is transformed into a monkey for a period of three years due to his baneful *Karma.* He has a son, Hanumān. When he attains the human form, Rāma, aided by Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumān and a large army of monkeys, attacks Laṅkā, kills Rāvaṇa and takes Sītā back to Vientiane.

The first thing that strikes an Indianist is that the geographical environments are no longer India, but Laos. The fact that all local folklore concern with the origin of rivers, mountains and cities, would tell us definitely that we have before us a veritable *māhātmya* of Laos. The indigenous origin would be confirmed when we examine the different festivals and ceremonies which are mentioned and described, for instance, marriage rites, practices of sorcery, holy rituals or royal consecrations, scenes praying for pardon, prayer to the spirits and ways of love-making. All these indications clearly establish the Laotian origin of the redaction. What can be the sources of inspiration of these? It is premature in the present state of our researches[1] to draw a conclusion, but one fact asserts itself, and that is that we have there one of

1. The results will be published in my work (in preparation) on "*The Laotian Rāmāyaṇa : Researches on its sources*", which will appear in the Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient

the most important problems which opens out new vistas in the history of the Rāmāyaṇa.

One of the essential elements is the birth of Sītā who is the daughter of Rāvaṇa. Several scholars such as Grierson, Przyluski, Bulcke and others have already studied this question. Bulcke, in particular, has established that the theme, probably the most ancient and certainly the most widely scattered, is met with in Kashmir, Tibet, Khotāṇ, Indonesia and in Indo-China. What then is the Indian origin of this episode? There is no doubt that we have before us a non-Vālmīkian text which no longer exists in India. However a comparative study of the different non-Indian versions would lead to the hypothesis of a common Indian origin. It is worthwhile to make a complete study afresh and a minute examination of all the existent redactions of the Rāmāyaṇa not only in Sanskrit but also in the vernaculars in order to determine the date and origin of the popular versions which Greater India has preserved. This is a problem and not one of small importance over which Greater India should draw the attention of the scholars in India.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

15—7—1952

A special meeting of the Institute was held on July 15, 1952, when Professor Danial H. H. Ingalls, Head of the Sanskrit Department, Harvard University, U. S. A., and General Editor of the Harvard Oriental Series, spoke on Comparison of Indian and Western Philosophy. There was a very large gathering and Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University and a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The President of the Institute, Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, welcomed the gathering and the distinguished visitor.

Dr. V. Raghavan introduced the learned lecturer who was making his second visit to India. He referred to Prof. Ingalls' earlier visit when he studied the difficult subject of Navya Nyāya under a Bengali Sanskrit Pandit, and the outcome of this study was his book on the "Materials for the Study of Mediaeval Indian Logic" published in the Harvard Oriental Series. In the present visit Prof. Ingalls proposed to study pre-Śaṅkara Vedānta in particular and visit some of the leading centres of Sanskrit studies in India.

In his presidential remarks, Dr. A. L. Mudaliar who is a member of the Executive of the UNESCO spoke of the proposal of the UNESCO to publish translations of classics of the languages of the world. He said that it seemed to him most appropriate that at this time Western scholars must come to them and give them some ideas as to how they had been trying to interpret Oriental thought and how their minds had reacted to Oriental philosophy and literature. It had been one of his sad reflections that the best of their scholars, profound in the knowledge which could not possibly be excelled by others, were not in a position to attempt a comparative study of philosophy, literature or the sciences because of their lack of appreciation of the literatures of other countries. It was their hope that in course of time many of their great Oriental scholars would be in a position to unravel, by comparative study, the dependence of one system of philosophy on another and how they were mutually complementary. That would help to bring out the unity in the highest levels of human thinking.

Study of Classics

They had not been able to bring the knowledge of many of their classics to Western scholars, the Vice-Chancellor said. They felt at the last conference of the UNESCO that something should be done to promote translation of the great classics, ancient and modern, so as to bring them within the reach of all scholars, whichever language they might be conversant in. A resolution had, therefore, been adopted and they expected that this recommendation of the Board would be accepted by the conference of UNESCO which would be held in November.

Prof. Ingalls then spoke on Comparison of Indian and Western Philosophy. The text of his lecture is published elsewhere in this Volume. At the outset, Prof. Ingalls referred to his great satisfaction in having been able to visit Madras and see the excellent work being done in the Sanskrit Department of the Madras University under the direction of Dr. Raghavan. He mentioned also his visit in the morning to the Sanskrit Śāstra classes in the Madras Sanskrit College and the value of maintaining that type of traditional instruction.

5—9—1952.

The 8th Foundation Day.

The Eighth Foundation Day was celebrated by the Institute in a grand manner on September 5, 1952, in a special pandal. H. E. Sri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras, and one of the oldest life members of the Institute, presided and Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institute who had returned after delivering a series of lectures on subjects of Indian Culture in America, delivered the Foundation Day address.

Earlier, the annual General Body meeting was held and the Eighth Annual Report and audited statement of accounts of the Institute were adopted and passed. Sri K. S. Ramaswami Sastri presided over the General Body meeting. Sri M. Arunajatai, who had kindly agreed to do honorary auditing work for the Institute, was appointed Auditor. Sri T. V. Visvanatha Iyer was elected member of the Governing Body and Sri T. Chandrasekharan was elected member of the Research Committee. The meeting expressed itscondolence on the untimely demise of two of its life members, Dr. K. Goda

Varma of the Travancore University and Sri N. Sivaramakrishna Iyer, Advocate, Madras.

On his arrival H. E. Sri Sri Prakasa was received by Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar and Dr. V. Raghavan. They took the Governor into the Institute premises and showed him the library and the Journal and publications of the Institute.

The Foundation Day Celebrations commenced with prayer by Sri K. Ramamurti Sastri, Professor, Madras Sanskrit College.

Prof. A. Shanmukha Mudaliar read messages received on the occasion.

Sjt. K. M. Munshi, Governor of U. P. and a Patron of this Institute, wished the function success and desired to have a copy of Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's address.

The Hon. K. Venkataswami Naidu and the Hon. Dr. U. Krishna Rao, Ministers, Madras State, wished the function all success.

Prof. S. K. Belvalkar of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, sent his best wishes and expressed the hope that Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar's address would be printed in the Journal of Oriental Research.

The following Life Members of this Institute sent their best wishes: Sri B. P. Wadia, Srimati Rukmini Devi, and Sri S. Aravamuda Iyengar.

Messages were also received from the following institutions: The British Council, Madras; Oriental Institute, Baroda; Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad; National Library, Calcutta; Archaeological Department, Hyderabad; Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore, which desired to have copies of the Speeches of the Governor and the learned lecturer of the evening; and The Rajah's College, Tiruvadi.

The following scholars sent messages: Prof. Maheswar Neog and Sacchidananda Bhattacharya of Gauhati University; Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti of Navadvipa; Profs. N. A. Gore and M. M. Patkar, Poona; and Prof. M. Lakshminarasimhayya, Mysore University.

Dr. V. Raghavan then read and presented to His Excellency a Sanskrit address written by him on behalf of the Institute. The following is the text of the Address:

श्रीः

सत्यमेव जयते

मद्रमण्डलाध्यक्षेभ्यः श्रीयुत-**श्रीप्रकाशेभ्यः**
श्री-कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रि-विमर्शसमित्या समर्पिता

स्वागतपत्रिका

उत्तरगिरिप्रसूता दक्षिणवाराशितटमिता तपसे ।
देवी जयति कुमारी भारतराष्ट्रस्य बोधयन्त्यैक्यम् ॥

मान्याः श्री-**श्रीप्रकाशमहोदयाः** !

एतन्मद्रमण्डलाध्यक्षाणां भवतामत्र समागमेन श्री-कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रि-विमर्शसमितिसमवेताः सर्वे वयं प्रमोदामहे । भारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासमुद्धाराय पुण्यपत्तन-प्रयागादिस्थलेषु भाण्डारकर-गङ्गानाथझा-इत्यादि-विद्वन्नामाङ्किता विमर्शसमितयः समुल्लसन्ति ; तादृशीयं नः समितिः स्वविद्याजीवितगुणप्रकर्षेण दक्षिणापथे अनितरसाधारणं संस्कृतादिप्राच्यविद्याप्रचारमनुगृहीतवतां महामहोपाध्याय विद्यावाचस्पति-कुलपति दर्शनकलानिध्यादि-बहुबिरुदभाजां कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिणां स्मरणीयामभिधां बिभ्रती विराजते । भवत्पितृचरणानां परं मित्रभूतानां श्री-कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिवर्याणां गुणाः, मन्यामहे, भवतामप्यपरोक्षा इति । न चेयं समितिः तन्निर्वर्त्यमानविद्यासेवा च भवतामपरोक्षा, यतः प्रारम्भत एव भवद्भिरत्राङ्गत्वं स्वीकृतम् । तदद्धा शोभतेतमां यद् अस्याः समित्याः अष्टमवार्षिकोत्सवावसरे भवन्तः अत्र समागत्य आध्यक्ष्यमलङ्कर्तुम् अस्मदभ्यर्थनाम् अभ्युपागच्छन् ॥

नूनं न स्यादेव स समाजोऽस्मिन् येन न पठिता नानुशीलिता वा भवतां तातपादानां भगवन्दासमहाशयानां ग्रन्थविशेषाः । प्राचीनभारतीय-संस्कारवासना-पुनर्विकास-निदानभूतेषु आधुनिकनिबन्धेषु तेऽनघं प्राधान्यं वहन्ति । तादृशानामपत्यभूता भवन्तः स्वयं संस्कृतात्मानः विद्याविषयेषु श्रद्धां बिभ्रतीति समीचीनमेवैतत् । 'श्रिञ् सेवायाम्' इति धातोः श्रियं निर्ब्रुवता मुनिना शाकटायनेन श्रियः प्रकाशः लोकसेवायामेवेति तत्त्वमुदात्तमुद्घोषितम् । तथैव देशकैङ्कर्यरूपलक्ष्म्या सम्पन्नानां भवतां **श्रीप्रकाश** इति सुभगं नामैव भवतां संस्कारातिशयं व्यनक्ति ॥

वयं चात्र तादृशसुभगोदात्तमनःपरिपाकोदयेन यथा पुनरपि भारतं राष्ट्रं प्राप्तपरिमलं स्यात् तथा प्रयतामहे । प्रदेशान्तरस्थविमर्शसमितीनां यथा प्रान्त-मध्य-राज्याङ्गसाहायकं निरन्तरं वर्तते तथा नास्माकं तादृशं किमपि भागधेयमस्ति । विद्यावद्भ्यः विद्याभिमानिभ्यश्च यो द्रव्योपकारस्तदा तदा लभ्यते, तमेवावलम्ब्य प्रचलत्यस्माकं कार्यजातम् । एवमपि अतीतेषु अष्टसु वर्षेषु यदस्माभिः साधितं न तत्फल्गु । यथेयं समितिः भूयोऽपि वृद्धिमेत्य महतीं प्रतिष्ठामारोहेत् तथा मण्डलाधिपतयः मध्यमन्त्रिपरिषत्प्रमुखानामपि परं सुहृदो भवन्तोऽनुगृह्णन्तु ॥

मद्रपुरी
५-९-१९५२

इति प्रार्थयमानाः
श्री-कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रि-विमर्शसमित्यङ्गभूताः सुहृदः ।

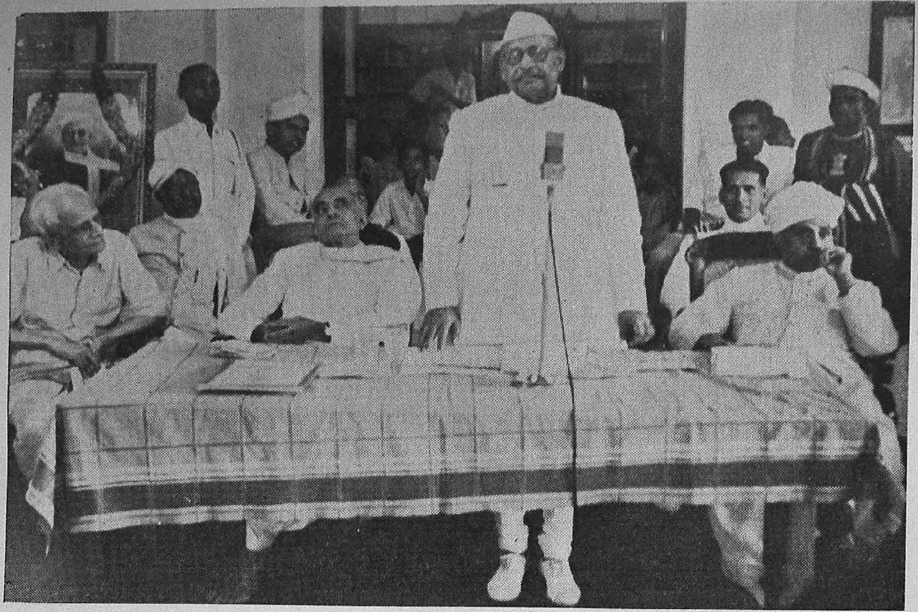
The President of the Institute, Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, then welcomed the Governor, the distinguished speaker of the evening and the gathering. He said that it had been started in memory of a great scholar who served as Principal of two Sanskrit Colleges and as Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Madras, and later in the Annamalai University. He was a scholar who could hold his own with modern students of Philology and also meet Pandits of the old type of education on equal terms. The speaker remembered how Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, himself a great student of *Mīmāmsā*, indented often of the services of Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastriar for unravelling knotty problems. In Mr. Kuppuswami Sastriar's presence, he always felt he was facing an elder person, though Mr. Kuppuswami Sastriar was younger than himself in years. That day, he said, was a red letter day in the annals of the institution as they were having in their midst two eminent persons,—Sri Sri Prakasa and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. The Governor was interested in many institutions and he (the speaker) would only say, "this Institute deserves Your Excellency's attention and protection." Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar had played great roles in the history of this State and was an eminent and brilliant student of affairs. It seemed almost as if administrators of his ability were not wanted in India while invitations came to him from Universities and other institutions in America. And Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar had done very useful work for India there as her unofficial cultural ambassador.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar persented a report of the working of the Institute giving an account of its origin and growth and the work it had done so far in publishing great works in Sanskrit and Tamil, in building up a library and the collection of valuable manuscripts and rare works, and in holding discourses, educative meetings, etc. It was felt that spread of Sanskrit required simplification of the method of teaching the language and evolving a new technique for mastering its complicated grammar. Sri Chittoor Rajagopalachariar gave a donation of Rs. 5,000 for the purpose and the Institute got into touch with Mr. R. Sankarasubrahmania Aiyar of Trivandrum who had evolved a method of teaching Sanskrit which had been found very successful and had been employed by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar while Dewan of Travancore, to promote study of that language there. The Institute was making attempts to secure the service of this scholar on a permanent basis to start Sanskrit classes in the Institute according to the new method of teaching and also a training course for Sanskrit teachers in this method. To stabilise the plans and put them on a permanent basis, the contribution of Rs. 5,000 made by Mr. Chittoor Rajagopalachariar should be doubled and he appealed to friends and others interested in the cause to help the Institute.

In conclusion, the report stated that institutions of this kind devoted to Oriental Research flourished in Poona, Allahabad and other centres but they were all sustained by large Government grants, while this Institute depended entirely on the support of scholars and enlightened members of the public. Considering the resources available, he claimed that the record of work of the Institute "cannot be deemed to be insignificant." For the numerous developments they had on hand, substantial help was needed from patrons of culture and the Government. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was doing great service in distant America in the cause of Indian culture; in this country, such service had become all the more necessary in the present set-up of affairs. He appealed to all people to help the Institute to place its different lines of work on a sound financial basis and launch upon fresh programmes of work.

Delivering his Address, H. E. SRI SRI PRAKASA said:

"Friends! It is difficult for a person like myself at a meeting like this to express in adequate language the sincere gratitude for the great honour which has been done to me. I



H. E. Sri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras,

Speaking at the VIII Foundation Day of the K. S. R. Institute.

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must also confess that I feel rather embarrassed in the presence of these elders here whom I have always been taught to honour. I am reminded often that I am the son of my father. I feel completely overwhelmed. I do propose to send my father tonight the address that you have been pleased to present to me in beautiful Sanskrit. We are met here today on the 9th death anniversary of Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastri and we have met here to pay our tribute to his memory and to the great work that he has done for us and for mankind in general. The very last letter that I received from the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri was to ask me to become a Life Member of this Institute and to pay a small subscription for it. That was in the year 1944. The little subscription asked for was sent immediately, because it is always difficult to say 'no' to leaders, and I find my name still embedded in the list of those who are Life Members of this Institute. I am happy therefore that at last I have come to an Institute, the name of which I have known long before I came here and with which I was also privileged to be associated from the start.

"It is indeed a privilege that I should find myself on the same platform with such an esteemed and respected elder as Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer. Like almost all persons of my generation, he has been known to us these 35 years and more and we have all watched his amazing career and work in diverse fields of activity with great admiration and it is a rare privilege for me to find myself sitting by his side on this platform. We are all naturally anxious to hear him and though a politician like myself, especially one who belongs to the Congress, is rather apt to make long speeches, I shall try to be as short as possible so that I may not be standing between him and yourselves. We have met here to pay tribute to the memory of the great scholar who passed away from our midst nine years ago. And because this Institute was first brought to my notice by the great Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, perhaps you will permit me to pay a tribute to his memory as well on this occasion. We are grateful for all that he has done in the political field and for the great example of an ideal gentleman that he had been to the world. It was my privilege to meet Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastri during his visits to Benaras and though the Government of India have now taken away all titles, I shall be happy and I hope you will all be

happy if the great title of learning, Mahamahopadhyaya is still kept alive.

"Coming from Benaras, the ancient seat of Sanskrit learning, my bias for an institute like this can easily be imagined. Sanskrit is a language which in my ancient city of Kasi is taught by a thousand scholars in a thousand homes and though we have now a great University at Benaras called as such, housed as modern Universities are, in large buildings, the real University of Benaras is still in its streets and houses of real learning. Sanskrit, however, is a language that cannot easily be learnt and your Secretary has mentioned this fact rightly in the course of his report.

"Efforts have been made from the earliest days to make this language easy and when later I was told that Bhandarkar had made it easy in his own little books and I turned my attention to these books, I found that he had turned Sanskrit upside down. Memories like these make me happy that this Institute is actively engaged in making the study of the language easy. Sanskrit has got to be learned with a great deal of trouble. If Sanskrit can be made easy and if we can all really speak and write it, I think it would be a great blessing and the hope of Dr. Katju, our present Home Minister at the Centre, who wants Sanskrit to be the national language of India, realized.

"Like most persons brought up in the traditions in which I had been brought up, we recognise Sanskrit to embody our ancient culture in its vast and varied literature, and as one coming from the North, I have also always felt that Sanskrit owes very much to the scholars and people of the South than it does to the scholars and people of the North. My own memories of boyhood days are that of Mahāmahopādhyaya Pandit Gangadhara Sastri Dravid who used to preside in the most outstanding and almost violent manner over all the great sabhās that used to be held in my house where discussions raged upon various subjects. The scholarship of this great scholar was recognised by all and I do recollect his very tall figure holding forth against all adversaries in the sabhās, which I regret have now become obsolete, the place being taken by the Legislative Assemblies where discussions are carried on in an atmosphere of acrimony, and lead to very little results. This great Pandit used invariably to add the word Dravid to his name; knowing that half a centry later people would arise in

the land where he had been born who would say that Sanskrit is no part of their culture, he insisted that it should at least be remembered that he was a 'Dravid'.

"We would like to say to all who think that Sanskrit is no part of the heritage of Tamilnad that it is a great heritage and that the people of Tamilnad had rendered far more services to this great language than anyone else. Can we forget that the great Bhāgavatam was given to the world from this place, and that the literature of Bhakti which elevates the people all over the land came mainly from this place. How is it possible to believe that Sanskrit is not a heritage of this place and that it has been implanted here from anywhere else. I am glad that along with research in Sanskrit subjects you are also carrying on researches in South Indian languages and literatures. I am happy to note that your chief aim is to bring out by researches in the varied cultural developments of this country the fundamental unity of Indian culture. Going back to this great Pandit Gangadhara Sastri Dravid who functioned so nobly in Benares, it may perhaps interest and even intrigue you to know that though he was a great scholar of Sanskrit and functioned in the city of Benaras, where the language spoken in Hindi, his own language of culture and language for the expression of thought was Marathi, and the great Marathi scholars who have done so much for the resuscitation and propagation of Sanskrit were in such great prominence in this Hindi city of Benaras that they were able to induce the Sanskritist from Tamilnad who insisted on calling himself Dravid to learn Marathi and speak in it. If there could be any proof of the real fundamental unity of our land, it is here where Tamil, Sanskrit, Marathi and Hindi all come together for the propagation of the same hope and the same aim. I am therefore very deeply touched by the effort that this institution is making to study and to spread the literature of Sanskrit and of the thought that it embodies, and I do hope that in the effort that this institution is making in order to make Sanskrit easily intelligble for the common man, it will succeed. When you have scholars coming as far away as Trivandrum and with your eminent statesman Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to help you in the task, I do not think you have any fears regarding the ultimate success of your venture.

I must once more thank you, my friends, for the privilege you have accorded me of being present with you at this function and it is my pleasant duty to call upon Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to deliver his address, which we are all longing eagerly to hear, on the very interesting subject of "Purāṇas as illustrative of our National Psychology and Evolution".

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar then rose amidst cheers and delivered his Address on "Purāṇas as illustrative of our National Psychology and Evolution." The learned lecturer said:

"The subject of today's talk suggested itself to me during my sojourn in America when after discoursing to the people there upon recent Indian History and Economics and also upon Yoga and Śaiva Siddhānta, I was asked to deliver some talks on the 'legends' and 'myths' of India—I am using those words deliberately in inverted commas. I, therefore, proceeded as any self-respecting Professor should to equip myself for the task by getting access to such Purāṇas as were available in the United States. I had been reading during the last two or three years many books composed by men of research. We have been having books evincing meticulous, laborious, documented research upon many matters appurtenant to Indian philosophy, Indian Purāṇas and Indian religion. Quite recently a book has been published by an Institution in Bombay entitled "The Vedic Age". In that book, it is stated that the Rig Veda is a worthless compilation—I am not using the exact words—brought into existence by designing Brahmans for the purpose of deluding the ignorant. That section of the book was written by an Indian scholar of standing and quotations are numerous and the foot-notes impossible to exhaust. Finally, he comes to the conclusion after disposing of the Rig Veda, the Yajur Veda and the Sama Veda in a few words of disparaging comment, that the Atharva Veda is the repository of the legends of the primitive folk embodying their beliefs in witchcraft and magic and is the one real contribution that may be studied with interest and profit. There is an important book quite recently produced posthumously which was written by a competent scholar of Buddhist and Indian law, a German naturalized in America. His book is entitled the "Philosophies of India." His whole endeavour is to show that not only Buddhism and Jainism but also Yoga and the Sāṅkhya,

in other words, all those streams and traditions of thought which did not accept the authenticity and the validity of the Śruti are primitive, pre-Aryan in origin and that there has been a deliberate and somewhat mischievous attempt on the part of the compilers to bring these into the canon of the consolidated scriptures of the Aryan race. I can multiply instances like these. In another volume in the same series, we have a very laborious attempt made for the purpose of showing that the Avatārs of Viṣṇu, Hanumān, Gaṇeśa, are Polynesian relics, the relics of a civilization, primitive in character, which are not only Pre-Aryan but also Pre-Dravidian in character, and the designing compilers of the various scriptures brought all these together and put them together.

"After having read these books, it struck me that it may be useful not to exhaust oneself in the efforts either to trace these origins or to proceed on *a priori* theories of racial, ethnic, creedal, cultural or tribal superiorities or inferiorities but to approach the Purāṇas as human documents meaning something and not really designed for, a propagandic purpose. I am reminded by my good friend, Mr. Venkatarama Sastriar, who quite recently embarked upon the task of trying to prove that the odium attached to what is called 'linga' or idol worship was wholly undeserved. It is hardly worthwhile because people who think on these lines will always continue to think on those lines. We have known Miss Mayo and we are knowing Mr. Bullit. Now, that apart, it struck me that it may be useful, it might be a worthwhile task, to study the Purāṇas not as based on Aryan or non-Aryan sources, or pre-Aryan or Dravidian sources but to study the Purāṇas for just what they are.

You know what the Purāṇas are intended to be. In the term 'Purāṇas', I follow Professor H. Zimmer in what he says, a wise statement with which I concur, namely, that the present Purāṇas are not necessarily what were the original pristine Purāṇas. The Purāṇas, in all probability, were composed of stories of experiences, racial experiences, which were gradually put together, once in the Rāmāyaṇa, again in the Mahābhārata, then in the various Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas. Probably they were modified from time to time in order to suit the exigencies and needs of the hour. Let us realize also the main purpose especially of the later Purāṇas. They were brought into existence for the purpose of combating what was

called Nihilism, the passivity of temper, temperamental outlook, which was supposed to be one of the by-products of the Jain and Buddhist forms of thought, and it was in order to combat this passivity and inactivity, that the Purāṇas were brought into existence and that is why the Purāṇas have been described as Suhṛt-Sammita as distinguished from Prabhu-Sammita. In other words, whereas the Śruti or the Vedas were the dictates, the mandates or the commands of a Prabhu, a Lord, a Master, an Officer, a Superintendent, who had spiritual authority, the Purāṇas were Suhṛt-Sammita, the teachings, exhortations and anecdotes of a friend, designed to interest, persuade and convert,. and it is from that point of view that I think we must study the Purāṇas. What has been done in this connection is very little because there was a tremendous prejudice with which people started to study the Purāṇas. Most of us are the grand-children of Lord Macaulay, intellectually and educationally speaking. He had said, "Those absurd stories of impossible personages and wholly inconceivable, fantastic origins are hardly worth perusal" and this one sentence on the Purāṇas and Itihāsas has ruled him out of consideration. The Purāṇas were brought into existence, were created, not by some people but by all people who took an interest. And what were the Purāṇas designed to do? They were intended to be sources of popular education. I was asked times out of number during my sojourn in the United States when I lectured to the various Universities there, how they expect a vast illiterate mass like those comprising the adult electorate of India to think aright in these tremendously exacting times. Literacy in India does not connote the ability to read and write. A man who stains white paper black is not a literate. The illiterate people really are the half-baked products of our secondary school system; and the peasant, the husbandsman and the village artisan who have had a tradition, mainly Purāṇic tradition, and a culture, an exemplification of the national qualities and attributes of the people, knew what to accept and what to guard against. He was literate in the sense of being the custodian of the pristine culture which was oral and came through the ears and not through the eyes; and that was proved to be correct. It was this task that the Purāṇas were made to subserve, the task mainly of popular education along the lines of the national cultural tradition and all those examples, both of great conduct and high ennobling

ideals and a falling-away from these ideals. That was the work and task of the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas.

"The Purāṇas, in order to carry out this task, were an amazing compendium of apparently heterogenous subjects, chemistry in one place, medicine in another, archery in a third, or polity, or political economy, etc., as in the Śānti and Anuśāsana parvas of the Mahābhārata. This was how the task of popular education was implemented and carried out. Every subject, in a pleasant, easy, colloquial way, which could be brought home to the people at large, were included in the Purāṇas, which, of course, dealt mainly with the Sāṅkhya, cosmogony and the Avatārs.

"The whole idea of the Purāṇas was to bring prominently before the minds of the people the fundamental truths of Indian life, thought and religion. What are they? The first of them is the consciousness that our creed, our faith is not dependent upon the worship of one manifestation or other. In fact we have to come to the Vāyu Purāṇa to find out the unfaltering and unambiguous message that he who prefers one manifestation to another is the greatest sinner of all. In other words, the Purāṇas, taken as a whole illustrate the thesis that our faith, our creed, whether you call it Hinduism, Brahminism or anything else, is not a particular dogmatic religion but a quest. It is a form of Being, it is a way of Becoming, it is a way of liberation from Being and Becoming and there is no hard and fast line between nature and man, man and man, man and animal, man and God, and evil and suffering are not absolute or real but temporary experiences with reference to the evolving spirit, and there is much more to it. You will find in the Purāṇas much of what we now regard as specially patented doctrines of equality of communities and the all-embracing oneness of the humanity of man.

"I have come to the conclusion that perhaps there is no literature in the whole world which points out the dangers of war and state powers and what is called power politics, as the Purāṇas. What the two world wars had taught the world now had been vividly explained in the Purāṇas—

जीयमाना जयन्त्यन्ये जयमाना वयं जिताः ।

Those who had been conquered are the real victors in a fight. This is clear when we remember how Britain and France are

suffering, while prosperity attend the defeated nations like Japan and Germany. We find power politics exemplified in Bali and Hiraṇyakaśipu and you have to go nowhere else but the Purāṇas to exemplify the mixed strand of good and evil which exist in human nature or the truth that man and woman combine both the saint and the sinner, so that every one is to be alert and watchful lest he should falter and fall; and the great lessons in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa and in the great last scene of the Mahābhārata where one by one Dharmaputra's brothers and Draupadī fall, and none except the dog is unaffected, that at the moment of triumph, nemesis, destiny, begins, and the weakness that taints the greatest is a thing which cannot but be carefully guarded against.

"The Purāṇas are a compendium, a kind of thesaurus or a treasure house of the various traits of human nature and the Purāṇas must be read not from the point of view of racial or tribal theories of philology and linguistics but as human documents indicative of the strength and weakness of our race. After all, Dākṣinyam (nepotism) has been a weakness even of the great Lord Śiva. It is a priceless human document in which the lives of Gods and men are depicted for the purpose of not only delectation but as examples to all of us always to beware of and never to despair. It is in that light that I would like them to be read and so read that they embody the history of the race, the weakness of the race, the strength of the race, the traditions of the race and the evolution of humanity as exemplified in the Avatārs."

Proposing a vote of thanks to His Excellency and the lecturer, Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar made an appeal to the Government through the Governor and to the cultured public to come forward to help the Institute with financial assistance.

19—11—1952.

Dr. G. H. Mees, author of *Dharma and Society*, the Dutch scholar who has taken to the Indian mode of life and has settled down in Varkala in Travancore where he has put up his own Āśrama called Kaṇvāśrama for his own *sādhana*, spoke on the 19th November at the Institute on the subject on which he is now deeply engrossed and has produced already a few volumes, Fundamental Symbolism. Sri S. V. Ramamurty presided.

Welcoming the lecturer, Mr. Ramamurti said symbolism was familiar to the Hindu way of life. He said symbolism represented the link between the two worlds in which the Hindus lived—the spiritual world and the material world. He added: "We seek to express in symbols unknown experiences. These symbols are depicted in temples, and South India is particularly rich in this respect. Symbolism came to the Hindus through the very air they breathe. It does not come through books." He then dealt at length with the four *purusharthas, Dharma, Artha, Kama* and *Moksha* and said different symbols had been given to the *Brahman* whom some described as *Ananda* and some others as the all-pervading sky. But the idea underlying the whole was *Tat*. The spirit underlying the word *Tat*, he said, would be a liaison between India and the rest of the modern world. It was this very spirit that would act as a link between religion and science. Thirty years ago, Mr. Ramamurti said, physics had not given mind (*manas*) its proper place. But, he added, it had now been given its due place.

Dr. Mees said the main aim of the various symbols of Hinduism was to merge the various functions of man and make him a whole man. All the religious traditions, he said, laid emphasis on the integration of all the aspects of life and the code was always supplied by the meaning of the symbolism of the five elements: the physical body, the element earth, the fire, the spiritual life by the element air, the faculty of faith and insight and the experience thereof by the element ether (*akasa*). "This group of five," he said, "we find everywhere, as for instance, in the five senses, the five *kosas*, the *panchagavya*, the *Panchopachara Puja*, the *Panchabhuta* and again *prithvi* (earth), *ap* (water), *tejas* (spirit), *vayu* (air) and *akasa* (ether). The four *Yogas* were again connected with the four levels of the first four elements, Karmayoga for the physical plane, and so on. Similarly, he said, the four *Vedas* represented the four main functions of man. *Yajus* as *artha, Sama* as *kama, Atharva* as the spirit and *Rig Veda* as representing the supreme spirit. The lecturer then dealt with some forms of offerings to God from the material plane and said that by dedicating these to God, we got the benefit of receiving them back cleansed, like *prasadam.*

Philosophy, in the modern form, Dr. Mees said, would be able to satisfy only the mind. It was *Bhakti* and *Bhakti* alone

that could give all-round satisfaction and integrate the various functions of man and lead him to enlightenment. He had come to the conclusion after a study of the different aspects of Hindu symbols, that Hinduism was a grand science of psychology. He hoped the people of this country would preserve their old traditions and find out the hidden meanings in various symbols as they contained treasures which would lead one to light and inspiration.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar thanked the lecturer and the chairman.

6—10—1952.

Mr. Ardeshir F. Khabardar spoke on October 6, 1952, on his researches in the Zoroastrian and Vedic scriptures. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, who had come from Iran where he is Professor of Sanskrit at the Teheran University, presided.

Introducing Mr. Khabardar, Dr. V. Raghavan said:

"Our guest of this evening had long been in Madras as head of a firm of cycle dealers and was known to the elders amidst us, including the Professor in whose name this Institute is founded; his return to Madras after a term of life in his native surroundings is a tribute to Madras and its attraction to the intellectual. Mr. Ardeshir Framji Khabardar, who is now 71, and broken physically and otherwise, is a distinguished Gujarati poet, who began composing while yet he was 16 and published his first book of poems of no less than 200 pages, 'Kāvya-Vasikā', while yet he was 19. In Gujarati and English, in poetry and criticism, his total output up today is about 4,000 pages; some of his literary works have gone into several editions and prescribed for College courses, in the Bombay University; the Gujarati literary world has honoured him more than once; in 1923, he presided over the literary section of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad at Bhavanagar, in 1927, over the 8-day Vasanta Festival, in 1941, was elected General President of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad for two years; his Jubilees had been regularly celebrated by Gujarati *litterati*; he has been presented Commemoration Volumes; and the Bombay University arranged for five lectures by him on the art of Gujarati Prosody.

"Mr. Khabardar had developed a consuming interest in astrology and was slowly led, by both literary and astrological

zeal to research into the writings of the ancient world. That is how he finds himself now among research scholars with this big *tome*—"New Light on the Gāthās of Zarathushtra," which has been issued by him in both Gujarati and English. The scholarly world, and his Avestan and Vedic cousins have given his work a mixed reception, sometimes even adverse. Our revered President, as members of this Institute might have noted from the latest issue of our Journal issued a few days ago, has reviewed his work and has followed it up with a number of questions that have to be answered by Mr. Khabardar.

"The prodigious industry of Mr. Khabardar at this age is remarkable, and a dozen more volumes of his research, and poetry and criticism, in Gujarati and English, are yet to be published; and we in this Institute, have great pleasure in affording this opportunity to the cultured public of Madras to come to know of the distinguished guest and his work."

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, who said he had gone through the work of the lecturer, "New Light on the Gāthās of Zarathushtra" observed that he could not bring himself to agree on any of the three main questions dealt with in that book, the comparative ages of the Gāthās and the Ṛg Veda, the metre, accent and emendation of the Gathic text, and the astrological foundation of the Gāthās. According to his own view, Dr. Raja said, the Vedas were 4000 years old and Zarathushtra was to be placed about 1000 B. C. Dr. Raja regretted that in Indian Universities, Iranian studies have not been given their due place. Regarding the religion of the Gāthās, Dr. Raja felt, it was more related to some of the later developments of Indian religion.

Mr. Khabardar gave a brief account of the research work he had done in connection with the Gāthās of Zarathushtra, the Avesta and the Vedic Scriptures. In a thesis in his Gāthā Volume, he said, he had fully discussed the question of the era of Zarathushtra. It was up till now believed that Zarathushtra lived in the latter part of the composition of Ṛg Veda or in the age of Atharva Veda. But he was convinced after fully considering the principal factors, like the age of the Ṛg Veda, and the legends and myths found in the Avesta and Ṛg Veda, that the Gāthās were really older than the Ṛg Veda.

Referring to astronomy in the Gāthās, the lecturer said that astronomy and astrology were not modern sciences, but perhaps the oldest ones. There were ample references to astronomy and astrology in the Gāthās and Avesta of the Zoroastrians and in the Hindu religious scriptures.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, Secretary of the Institute, proposed a vote of thanks.

At the end of the meeting, it was announced that 300 Sanskrit volumes from the library of the late Mr. G. A. Natesan had been presented to the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute by Mr. Manian Natesan, on behalf of Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Company.

BOOK REVIEWS

G. H. MEES—THE KEY TO GENESIS.
,, —EVOLUTION, PARADISE AND THE FALL.
,, —THE BOOK OF SIGNS WITH A SUPPLEMENT.

Published by N. Kulwer, Deventer, 1951.

The author of these books tells us in a note that, after five years of travel in India for the purpose of study, he lived for about three years in the Ashrama of Sri Ramana Maharshi, devoting himself to spiritual practices along with others. He left the Ashrama in the summer of 1943 and established an Ashrama of his own in Varkala in the of Travancore-Cochin State and lived in complete seclusion from the world. It was in this place of retirement that the revelation, which forms the subject-matter of these books, came to him. During the four months beginning from the middle of July, 1943, he wrote down the whole thing in the form of copious notes. And about ten months later he sorted out his notes and wrote these books for the benefit of others. Later, during a stay in Europe, some of the data were checked in the libraries there and some chapters were improved or re-written.

The Key to Genesis is a symbolic interpretation of the creation of the world, as given in the first chapter of Genesis. It is well known that the first verse in Genesis runs thus:—

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." According to the interpretation of our author, the beginning here mentioned means the beginning of a new cycle in a subjective sense. It marks the turning point in the spiritual path of the individual. The heaven and the earth symbolise respectively the opposite worlds of the spiritual man and the unspiritual man. When man begins to distinguish these two worlds clearly from each other he is about to enter on the spiritual path. The world of the unspiritual man—the earth—is thus described in the second verse:—

"And the earth was waste and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved upon the water."

According to our author, this sentence gives in a symbolic form the state of the soul of a man who has fallen away from God and who is involved in ignorance and sin. The epithets of wildness, voidness and darkness, we are told, have reference

to the functions of the physical, emotional and mental planes. The state of the Fallen Man is one of wilderness. It is one of hell. The "deep" here means hell, and "the spirit of God" is heavenly love.

Then we come to third verse which runs thus:—

" And God said, Let there be light, and there was light.". Our author's commentary on this verse deserves to be quoted in full. He says:—

"The light referred to is the inner light, which comes to a man in a state of hell and marks for him the beginning of the spiritual path. It is reflected in the light of the sun which begins to return after the winter solstice. If one watches the sunset, day after day, towards the end of the year one sees that it sets on the Northern hemisphere ever further away towards the south, the direction which Hinduism symbolically connects with 'death'. On the 21st December, the sun comes to a standstill on its southern course, then it seems to hesitate for a few days, till on the 25th December, one can see it clearly return to the North bringing back light and warmth. The "return" of the sun on its path is symbolically connected with the return of man on his path. Like the sun he is converted. His conversion, literally meaning return, is bound up traditionally with the return of the light of the sun. Because the spiritual path begins with the return of the Light in the Hell of man's mind, the ancients celebrated the birthday of Dionysos and the birthday of Mithras on the 25th December, and the birthday of Osiris on the 27th December. And Christmas is celebrated on December, 25."

In this manner the author goes on giving his own symbolic interpretation of the first two chapters of Genesis in his two books —*The Key to Genesis* and *Evolution, Paradise and the Fall*.

In the Introduction to the second book he says:—

"It has been shown in *The Key to Genesis* that Genesis I does not give an account of material creation and biological evolution, but portrays the stages on man's spiritual path, from the state of psychical 'hell,' concomitant with the uttermost involvement in egoistic and materialistic concerns, stage by stage, to the attainment of true manhood. * * * *

" When going through the first chapter of Genesis we noted that in a *general* way the spiritual path was dealt with as ascending through the Elements from Earth to Air,

The second chapter is based on this in an *exact* way. It will be shown that verses 4-9 have special reference to the first quarter of the spiritual path and are focussed in the element Earth. Next, it will be shown that verses 10-14 have special reference to the second quarter of the spiritual path and are focussed in the element Water, further that verses 15-20 refer specially to the third quarter of the path and are focussed in the element Fire and the verses 21-25 apply particularly to the fourth quarter and are focussed in the element Air, the sphere of the spirit."

The symbolism of the Elements—Earth, Water, Fire, Air and Ether—is thus explained in the same Introduction:—

"The element Earth symbolizes the material world including the physical body. * * * The element Water symbolizes the "plane" or "field" of feeling, including erotic emotion. * * * * The element Fire represents the world of the lower mind, with its "animal" urges and its knowledge of good and evil. * * * The element Air symbolizes the sphere of spiritual life, inspiration and intuition. * * * The element Ether, the "Quintessence", symbolizes the realm of the essential function of man, comprising faith and insight into the mystery of life and the harmony and bliss that go with them—faith being unconscious insight and insight conscious faith."

In the third book—*The Book of Signs*—, which is more than twice as long as the first two books put together, the author extends his method of interpretation to the other religions and scriptures of the world, especially to Hinduism and Hindu scriptures, and speaks of Fundamental Symbolism; the symbolism of desire and the fall of man; the symbolism of Virgin Birth; the symbolism of the dilaceration of man; the symbolism of war and battle; the symbolism of silence, void and word; the symbolism of life and death; the symbolism of the gods, animals and powers; the symbolism of the horse and solar plexus; the symbolism of the sacred mountain; the symbolism of the Lower Mind; the symbolism of the ancestors; the symbolism of the periods of life, and so on. In fact, his *Book of Signs* is a veritable forest of symbolism in which there is no danger of one's losing one's way, for apparently there is no way to lose. And the diagrams and charts given in the supplement are of a piece with the text. For instance, Diagram No. 2 has the following headings:—The Ten Rules of Buddhism, the Ten Commandments of Moses,

the ten Yamas and Niyamas of Hinduism, the First Ten Qualities according to the Gita, the Ten Higher Qualities according to the Gita, the Ten Paramitas of Buddhism, the Ten Pious Acts of Buddhism, the Houses of Zodiac, the Elements, the Ten Evils of Buddhism, the Ten Fetters of Buddhism, the Ten Petals of Manipura or Solar Plexus, the Ten Weaknesses according to Artha Sastra, the Ten Sins according to Manu, the Houses of Zodiac, the Ten Bad Habits according to Manu, and the Ten Plagues of Egypt. One is reminded of the vernacular proverb which speaks of the integration of bald heads with knee-caps.

But this is not all. We are promised a second volume of *The Book of Signs* which will contain some more symbolisms, such as the symbolism of the creative power of consciousness, the symbolism of the Group of Seven, the symbolism of zero and numbers, the symbolism of world-periods and so on. Those who are interested in this kind of thing may find some useful hints here and there in these books. But there is no doubt that the general reader will only be puzzled and bewildred at the fanciful interpretations, ingenious explanations and exploitation of chance coincidences in them. It is a mistake to think that the cause of religion is in any way served by such work. If this could be called research, it is, frankly, research gone mad.

The fact seems to be that our author is so impressed with the mystical doctrines of the Fall of Man from the heights of divine consciousness and of his Return to his original state that he tried to read them into all the mythologies, the primitive folklores and the astronomical or rather the astrological beliefs of the world. It is well known that the mythology of a race is originally the outcome of primitive human thought and language. To the primitive man his mythology is his history, his science, his philosophy and his religion—all in one. For it is, at one and the same time, the glorification of the heroes of his race, the explanation of the natural phenomena that he sees around him, his speculations on life after death and the expression of his gratitude to the unseen powers which have enabled him to secure his food or to kill his foe. In short, the mythology of a race is the raw material out of which are fashioned those later products which we call history, science, philosophy and religion. Very early in the history of a race the need is

felt for examining and selecting the myths of the prehistoric primitive stage. For these myths often contain crude, horrible, bloodthirsty and even grossly immoral stories. Naturally owing to the growing religious sentiment people are shocked and puzzled at some of these. At this stage, therefore, it is generally only those myths and legends which have some moral and spiritual values that are incorporated into religion. They are sometimes looked upon as only allegories or parables. They are valued not so much for the stories as for the higher spiritual values embedded in them. And at a later stage poets come forward and give such elaborate imaginative treatment of them that they become embodiments of the ideals of the nation. In this way whole cycles of myths gather around a particular god or hero, and he becomes, in the eyes of the people, a partial manifestation of the supreme spirit. Then mythology becomes a powerful instrument of religion and retains its life. This is what has happened to Hindu mythology. But the fate of Greek mythology and Norse mythology has been different. They were not properly sublimated and so they perished as soon as they come into contact with an alien religion which frowned on them.

Thus in the history of a race, mythology, with its cock and bull stories comes first, and religion, properly so-called, with its belief in a transcendent spirit which is the source of all higher values of life like truth, goodness, beauty and love and which is the goal of man's pilgrimage on earth, comes much later. Therefore to say that the myths of mankind are only signs and symbols of the various stages of Fall of Man and the Return or the Redemption of Man is to put the cart before the horse.

Nor is it reasonable to assume that there is a single spiritual tradition behind all the mythologies and religious beliefs of mankind. Such an *a priori* assumption is a parallel to the assumption that all the languages of the world are derived from a single parent language or that all races of mankind are derived from a single pair of parents like the hypothetical Adam and Eve. All critical scientific research in these matters points, on the contrary, to multiple origins of races, languages and religions. Therefore it is nothing but a *tour de force* to bring all mythologies, folklores, astrologies and primitive beliefs under a single common mystical tradition of the Fall and Redemption of Man.

D. S. SARMA.

A VEDIC GRAMMAR FOR STUDENTS By A. A. Macdonell. Third impression, 1953. Indian edition. pp. xii+508. Rs. 10.

The Vedic language representing the earlier strata in the evolution of classical Sanskrit exhibits such variance with the evolved later language that its grammar has to be learnt as distinct from that of the other. The *Prātiśākhyas* and the *Nirukta* mainly and the *Vaidika* section of later grammars meet this need in the indigenous language. Modern works dealing with Vedic phonology, morphology and syntax are mostly due to the efforts of Western scholars, among whom Macdonell occupies a prominent place. A deep study and ripe scholarship, especially in the *Ṛgveda,* has made his large *Vedic Grammar* (1909) a comprehensive and authentic treatise on the subject. The work reviewed here is a practical adaptation and supplementation of this larger book, intended as a companion volume to the author's *Sanskrit Grammar for Students* which deals with classical Sanskrit.

The work commences with a Phonetic Introduction to the Vedic language, and in six further chapters dealing with Euphonic combination, Declension, Conjugation, Indeclinable words, Nominal stem formation and compounds and Syntax, supplies a comparatively full material for the study of the Vedic language. The bulk of the grammatical material is derived from the *Ṛgveda* as being the oldest of the Vedic texts and furnishing the most abundant material; that from later *Brāhmaṇas* and the Brāhmaṇa-like portions of the *Atharva Veda* and the *Yajurveda* are given in small type. Forms in the other Vedas which do not conform to the *Ṛgveda* are specially indicated. Copious illustrations are provided in the footnotes and comparative comments are made wherever necessary, especially in the later chapters.

A special feature of this book is that it corresponds paragraph by paragraph (excepting ch. 1) to the author's *Sanskrit Grammar for Students* so as to enable students to compare and contrast every phenomenon of the earlier and later language. The three Appendices affixed to the book, List of verbs, Vedic metre and Vedic accent too are extremely useful.

Thanks are due to the Madras Branch of the Oxford University Press for issuing an Indian edition of this work at a cheaper price in continuation of their editions of the

author's *Vedic Reader* and *Sanskrit Grammar for Students* reviewed in previous numbers of this Journal (XIX. 238-39 and XX. 41-42).

K. V. SARMA.

SAHENDRAVILASA: A POEM ON THE LIFE OF KING SAHAJI OF TANJORE (1684-1710) by Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa (Ayyāvāl), the Poet-Saint of Tiruvisanalloor: Edited by Dr. V. Raghavan with a Historical Introduction, Notes and three Plates. Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library, 1952, pp. xiii+76+147+iv. Price Rs 3.

Śāhendravilāsa is a Sanskrit kāvya in eight cantos, on the life of King Śāhaji, the second Maratha king of Tanjore, son of Veṅkaji *alias* Ekoji. Shortly after the fall of the Andhra Nayak dynasty the Tanjore kingdom was occupied by Ekoji, the commander of the Bijapur forces and the step-brother of Śivaji, the founder of the Maratha empire. Ekoji who ruled the kingdom from 1676 A. D. to 1684 A. D., had three sons, Śāhaji, Śarabhoji, and Tulajāji *alias* Tukkoji. They succeeded him one after the other and ruled till 1736 A. D.

The Maratha rulers of Tanjore followed closely in the foot-steps of the Andhra Nayak Kings and extended their patronage to arts and letters. In the words of Dr. Raghavan, the editor of this work, "the most noteworthy achievement of the Tanjore Maratha court is the renaissance of the literary and artistic activity, that took place under its active and munificent patronage." Many works were produced not only in Sanskrit but also in Telugu Tamil and Marathi. Many eminent scholars in Sanskrit flourished during this period and produced works 'in Poetry, Drama, Grammar and Lexicography, Advaita Vedanta, Bhakti, Music and Dance, Nyāya and Dharmaśāstra.' The Maratha rulers were scholars in Sanskrit, Marathi and Telugu, and adepts in music and dance. They were themselves authors of many works.

Of all the Maratha rulers Śāhaji who ruled the kingdom from 1684 to 1712 A.D., was a great scholar, patron of letters, and a *bhakta* of Tyāgarājasvāmi of Tiruvārūr. He was the author of *Candraśekharavilāsa*, an operatic composition, *Śabdaratnasamanvayakośa*, a lexicon of homonyms, and *Śabdārthasaṅgraha*, another lexicon containing a list of words with meanings. His gift of Tiruviśanallūr *alias* Śāharāja-

puram to forty-five brahmans well-versed in different Śāstras, allotting to each as many *vṛttis* or shares as the Śāstras he had mastered, was a great event of his time and that village became a great centre of learning and culture.

The work under review is a historical kāvya on the life of that king by Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa, one of the donees of the *agrahāra* of Śāharājapuram.

Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa, more popularly known in South India as "*Ayyāvāl*", meaning "respected Sire", "was responsible, along with his contemporary, Bodhendra Yatīndra, for the great spread of that phase of cult of devotion which believes in the singing of the Lord's glory and the repetition of his name, the *Nāma Siddhānta*, as the most efficacious means of salvation, particularly in the present age." He wrote many devotional hymns, Aṣṭakas, Śatakas, Stutis, etc., all concerning Bhakti. This is the only kāvya which he has written on his beloved patron, Śāhaji.

Śāhendravilāsa is more of a poem and contains very little of history. Only two important military events of Śāhaji's time are given in this, namely the help given to the Setupati and to Rājārām, son of Śivaji, at Gingee. Besides the two facts mentioned above, the descent of Śāhaji from Māloji, the birth and marriages of Śāhaji's brothers, Ekoji's success over the Nayak army of Tanjore and his taking possession of the kingdom, and Chatrapati Śivaji's successful military exploits are the only historical facts worth mention. A perusal of this kāvya gives us a glimpse into the court-life of Śāhaji and the royal grandeur of those days.

Dr. Raghavan has edited this book very well. He has written a masterly introduction to this work in which he reviewed the works produced during Śāhaji's time and their authors. An English summary of the contents of this kāvya and Sanskrit foot-notes in the body of the text are given. The editor has made several historical identifications of authors and authorship of works, and added useful explanatory notes in the foot-notes, both in Sanskrit and English, which enhance the value of the work. He has tried to identify the forty-five donees of Śāharājapuram and the works they wrote.

On page 24 of the introduction it is said that Śeṣācalapati, the author of *Kosala Bhosalīya, a dvisandhāna* kāvya, is identical with Śeṣācalapati who wrote *Śāharājavilāsa* in

Telugu. This is a mistake. They are two different persons. No doubt both are of the Bhāradvāja gotra. Śeṣācalapati, the author of *Śāharājavilāsa* in Telugu, was the son of Cokkanātha, the author of *Kāntimatīpariṇaya* and brother of Kuppādhvarin, whereas the other Śeṣācalapati, renowned as Āndhra Pāṇini, was the son of Veṅkaṭapatyamātya. This is the only error to be corrected.

The editor and the publishers of this book have to be congratulated on its excellence in editing and production.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA.

COLA CAMPU OF VIRUPAKSHA: Edited with critical introduction and notes by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D. Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Series, No. 55. Price Re. 1.

This work reproduces in the form of a Campū kāvya, some legends of the Cola kings in the Bṛhadīśvara Māhātmya, a versified compilation dedicated to the glory of the Bṛhadīśvara Temple in Tanjore. This Māhātmya is assigned to the Bhaviṣyottara Mahāpurāṇa, in the same way as similar Māhātmyas are assigned to either the Bhaviṣyottara or the Skānda Mahāpurāṇa.

The publication is embellished with a scholarly introduction dealing with the poetic merits and historical value of the work and an appendix containing extracts from the Bṛhadīśvara Māhātmya bearing on the theme of the Campū.

The editor assigns the work to the 17th century when people had faint and ill-assorted memories of the important events in the history of the Colas. The writing belongs to that style which has skill in versification, out of the way similies and puns as its chief merits. The poet's solecisms such as *agraṇeḥ*, in page 31, are perhaps due to the influence of the Śaivāgamas which pay scant regard to the rigid rules of grammar, and of which, the author—he was a "śivasya dāsaḥ", (page 36)—was a close follower. The book is carefully edited and neatly got up. The name of the editor is a guarantee for thoroughness and accuracy.

G. HARIHARA SASTRI.

KASAKRTSNA—SABDAKALAPA DHATUPATHA OF CHANNA VIRA KAVI: Edited by A. N. Narasimhia, M.A., L.T., PH.D. Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. Pages xviii+542. 1952. Price Rs. 5.

In this work published under the caption of "Kāśakṛtsna—Śabdakālāpa Dhātupāṭha," Samskrit roots (*Dhātus*) have been classified into ten groups (*gaṇas*) beginning with *Bhuvādi*. *Juhotyādi* has been included in the *Adādi gaṇa*, perhaps due to the scribe's inadvertance. In every case meanings are given first in Samskrit and then in Kannada. It is followed by the verb corresponding to the third person singular in the present tense. Also some participal nouns derived from the roots are given along with their Kannada meanings. In the *Dhātupāṭha* of the famous grammarian Pāṇini, under each group (*gaṇa*) 15 to 20 Parasmaipada roots would be catalogued first, then about the same number of Ātmanepada roots and along with them common Dhātus (both Parasmai and Atmanepadas) listed. But in this work it is not so; first all the Parasmaipada roots pertaining to each group is given, then the Atmanepada roots, then common pada roots (Ubhayapadi Dhātus) and finally the "Ṇijanta" is given. Among the roots listed here about 200 to 300 are not to be found in Pāṇini and some of the roots found in Pāṇini are not to be found here. There is also variance in the meaning given. Again some of the nouns derived from the roots have meanings different from those of the roots.

A good proportion of the Samskrit verbal nouns derived by our author have been known upto now as Dravidian Deśya words. Many other Dravidian Deśya words may be derivatives (tadbhavas) of the Samskrit words mentioned herein. If the present list of Samskrit roots be accepted, perhaps there may not be many purely indigenous Dravidian words. There is no possibility of ascertaining the veracity of the meanings given for many of the derived nouns, as we do not come across any usage thereof whether in Samskrit or in Kannada. There are several current Kannada words but some forms are distorted.

In the foreword the learned editor has suggested that the author of the present work, Kāśakṛtsna, may be the same as Sarvavarma, author of Kumāra Vyākaraṇa (Kālāpa Vyākaraṇa) or Kātantra Vyākaraṇa. Perhaps this suggestion has been made on the ground that the word "Kālāpa" occurs as a part of the title of the present work. From this assumption, it would mean that Kāśakṛtsna had a name Sarvavarma or vice versa. But Kāśakṛtsna has been assigned a date much earlier to Pāṇini whose date has been accepted as about the 6th

century B.C. And tradition has it that Sarvavarma constructed the Kātantra grammar for teaching Śālivāhana in about 78 A.D. Hence these two works cannot be attributed to the same author. Moreover the author of the Kātantra grammar is a Jaina, whereas in the present Dhātupāṭha there are included Sūtras to distinguish *Parasmai, Ātmane* and *Ubhaya* padas by *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* test which is purely Vedic. Therefore it is perhaps safer to say that the word "*Śabdakālāpa*" in the title of the work only means "collection of words" (*i.e.*, not merely roots, but a collection of roots, verbs, derived nouns etc., unlike Pāṇini's which has only *Dhātus* and their meanings). Until more substantial evidences are available, it may not be correct to equate *Kāśakṛtsna* with Sarvavarma.

This publication is sure to be of great use to a student of the Kannada language. The get-up and printing are quite good. There is a useful word index in the alphabetical order. A Kannada word index, given independently, would have enhanced the value further. The learned editor and the Research Institute that has published this monumental work deserve our congratulations.

H. SESHA IYENGAR.

MANAVA DHARMASASTRA, chs. 7-12. 1952. Rs. 2-8-0.

SARVADARSANA-SIDDHANTASANGRAHA OF SANKARACHARYA, 1951. Re. 1.

VEDANTADINDIMA AND RATNAPANCAKA OF SANKARACHARYA, 1951. As. 4.

APAROKSHANUBHUTI OF SANKARACHARYA, 1952. As. 4.

ADHYATMAPATALA-VIVARANA OF SANKARACHARYA, 1953. As. 8.

Rendered into Malayalam by Sāhityanipuṇa E. V. Raman Namputiri, Brahmavilas Mutt, Perurkada, Trivandrum.

Pandit E. V. Raman Namputiri, on whom the title of *Sāhityanipuṇa* was recently conferred by H. H. the Maharaja Parikshit of Cochin, is a well-known writer of Kerala who has to his credit numerous works and articles in Malayalam on a wide range of subjects covering Sanskrit and Malayalam

literatures and Indian philosophy and culture. The five works reviewed here are renderings of six classical works in Sanskrit into Malayalam.

The first is a metrical translation of the latter half of Manusmṛti, the first half having already appeared serially in the *Mātṛbhūmi* weekly, Kozhikode. Footnotes are provided wherever further explanations are needed; other authorities are also often cited. This publication is extremely useful in that it makes available in Malayalam this authoritative and most popular code of law of ancient India. A Table of Contents and a detailed Subject Index would greatly enhance the utility of this book of reference and it is hoped that these for the whole work would be added in the volume (chs. 1-6) yet to be published in book-form. A glossary of technical terms (which are largely adopted as in the original) is also a desideratum.

The other books reviewed here present translations of five works attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, of which *Vedāntadiṇḍima* and *Ratnapañcaka* contain the Sanskrit texts as well. Of these the *Sarvadarśanasiddhāntasaṅgraha* (Sanskrit text edited by Prof. M. Rangacharya, Madras, 1909) depicts in brief the chief tenets of 15 systems of Indian philosophy, six *avaidika* and the other nine *vaidika*. The *Adhyātmapaṭalavivaraṇa* is Śaṅkara's commentary on the Adhyātma section of *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*. Besides the text of the sūtras given at the beginning, explanatory adjuncts are added in brackets to make the commentary explicit. The other works are metrical renderings of three of Śaṅkara's minor works. The translator has also promised a historical study of Śaṅkarācārya.

Life-long study and deep erudition in Sanskrit and Malayalam have enabled the translator to accurately represent the original in his renderings, and his facility in writing Malayalam prose and verse make his translations very readable. Thanks are due to Sri Namputiri for his laudable efforts in the direction of making accessible to the Malayalam reading public some of the great works of Sanskrit.

K. V. SARMA.

A HISTORY OF KERALA LITERATURE By Mahakavi Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar, Vol. I. Department of Publications, University of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1953. pp. vi+450. Rs. 7-8-0.

The work reviewed here is the *magnum opus* of one of the greatest writers of modern Malayalam, published posthumously. Mahakavi Ulloor had projected a comprehensive literary history of Kerala about 40 years ago and all through his active literary career extending to nearly six decades had been assiduously collecting material from all sources for this project which he considered his life work. The Mahakavi had been especially suited to this task not only by his natural bent and flavour but by his deep scholarship in Tamil, Sanskrit and English besides Malayalam. The result is the present authentic account and critical estimation in seven volumes of the vast contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit and Malayalam literatures.

The first volume issued now contains in 19 chapters a discussion on the origin of the Malayalam language and its close relation to Tamil, the early Malayalam works, the advent of Sanskrit and its strong but wholesome influence, the delightful Maṇipravāla literature, the traditional folksongs pertaining to the different parts of the land, the early Sanskrit works in the various branches of study, a study on the Līlātilakam, the earliest grammar of the Malayalam language, and an account of the Kerala scripts, code languages, proverbs and riddles. The author's grip on the subject and his vast erudition are stamped on every page, and the book contains much new material and correlation of facts. His strong views on the relation of Malayalam and Tamil and certain identifications of authors and dates might be prone to provoke controversy, as indeed they have already done, but this does not deter the value of the work or the vast amount of material it presents. The profuse quotations, especially from old Maṇipravāla literature and folksongs are illuminating.

Some misprints have eluded the notice of the compiler of the errata (*e.g. api nā* for *apinā* (p. 83), *velāroham* for *veṇvāroham* (p. 169, 448), *āvaraṇādarśakam* for *āvaraṇadaśakam* (p. 437), *paṇiyampalli* for *paṇṇiyampalli* (p. 438), *Śamkopa* for *Śaṭhakopa* (pp. 315, 407, 448). It may noted that the quotation on pp. 168-69 as from an anonymous *Sphuṭanirṇayatantravivṛti* is really from the text of *Acyuta Piṣāroṭi's Sphuṭanirṇaya* and

its *vivṛti*. A few mistakes in the Index like describing Ādityadāsātmaja as Talakkulattu Bhaṭṭatiri instead of Varāhamihira, Unmādavāsavadattam as Vīṇāvāsavadattam (p. 438) and vice versa (p. 448), Śivavilāsavivaraṇam as a separate work (p. 449) while it refers only to a previous paragraph in the book, duplicating Mānaveda (p. 446) etc. have to be corrected.

A title in English is a desideratum and a short English preface will enable non-Malayalam knowing scholars also to have an insight into the work.

The printing and get-up of the volume are excellent and the price moderate. The Department of Publications of the Travancore University have to be commended for undertaking the publication of this great work.

K. V. SARMA.

CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF THE SRI CHITTIRA TIRUNAL LIBRARY, TRIVANDRUM. 1953. pp. ii, 2, 232. Re. 1.

At the present rate of expansion of printed literature in the provincial languages of India the necessity of classified and arranged catalogues are becoming more and more acute and in view of the gradual replacement of English by provincial languages even in higher education, it is sure to grow more intense. Except in a few of the several Indian languages, for instance, Marathi, even this primary aspect of library science is yet in infancy. The endeavours in this direction of the Travancore-Cochin Library Association and the National Book Stall, Kottayam (with regard to recent publications), do serve to fulfil this need in Malayalam. Long before this, however, the 40 year old Chittira Tirunal Library, Trivandrum, had rendered signal service in this aspect in publishing in three volumes classified lists of their large collection. The book reviewed here is a consolidation of these volumes, long out of print, revised and made up-to-date.

It presents under 20 main divisions with several subdivisions, each arranged alphabetically, the ten thousand and odd books, bound periodicals, commemoration volumes etc. in the libray, with such information as the author, editor, translator, commentator, etc. against each item, and can easily said to be the most comprehensive book of this kind in Malayalam.

A significant section of this catalogue is that on Children's literature, in four sections, containing about 500 volumes. Those on Dictionaries (about 40 volumes), Commemoration volumes (250 items) and bound periodicals (500 volumes). contain a good percentage of those ever published in the language and makes the library a veritable reference centre. Being placed in this advantageous position in this aspect the library ought to take special pains to acquire all missing volumes and those it does not possess.

Some of the improvements that can be effected are: addition of cross references when a book refers to more than one section, giving, in all cases, names of the author of the original also against translations, commentaries etc., indexing separately the different works contained in the same volume, giving the place and year of publication of the books and correcting the several misprints and factual errors that have unfortunately crept in. These would greatly enhance the utility of this compilation than its being only the catalogue of a particular collection.

The compilers of this catalogue and the Library are to be thanked for issuing this publication which to a good extent forms a classified catalogue of printed Malayalam literature.

K. V. SARMA.

THE AŚVAMEDHA SITE INSCRIPTION NEAR KALSI: A NOTE

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

The preliminary exploration of a site at Jagatgram, thirty miles from Dehradun, where a king called Śīlavarman of the third century A.D. performed for the fourth time an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice was noticed in the Journal of Oriental Research Vol. XXI, pp. 28-29. Since December, 1953, further exploration of the site has revealed more inscribed bricks in a better state of mould and preservation from which it is now easy to restore the inscription and correct it as follows:—

नृपतेर्वार्षगण्यस्य पोणषष्ठस्य धीमत[:] ।

चतुर्थस्य[।]श्वमेधस्य चित्योयं शीलवर्मण[:] ॥

Translation.

"This is the fire-altar of the 4th Aśvamedha performed by king Śīlavarman, who belonged to the वृषगण *gotra* and who was sixth (in descent) from पोण or the sixth among Poṇas".

वृषगण is the 69th gotra mentioned by Pāṇini in his अष्टाध्यायी (गर्गादिभ्ये यञ्). पोण is probably the name of the progenitor of the *vaṁśa* to which Śīlavarman belonged. Or पोण was the name of some illustrious member of his family. It is hoped that further digging will throw light on this पोण dynasty or nomenclature.

Inscribed bricks have also been exposed now here declaring Śīlavarman to be the King of युगशैल, probably the name of his capital, and as a युगेश or lord of a lustrum or purification by periodical sacrifices. According to Varāhamihira the युगशाः are twelve, beginning with Viṣṇu and ending with Bhaga. The description of Śīlavarman as a युगेश is interesting.

This explanation may be accepted in the place of the comments offered and published already on pp. 28-29 of the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XXI, 1953.

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Nāṭa naḷiya naṭuṅka nanta
Ōṭa-p puraiya v-eṉṟavai y-eṉāa
Ārā ṟ-uvamai-y-u m-aṉṉavai piṟa-v-um
Kūṟuṅ kālāi-p pal-kuṟip piṉa-v-ē.

The particles which suggest comparison in diverse ways are:—to mention thirtytwo and more. (1) *aṉṉa* (2) *ēyppa* (3) *uṟaḻa* (4) *oppa* (5) *eṉṉa* (6) *māṉa* (7) *oṉṟa* (8) *oṭuṅka* (9) *oṭṭa* (10) *āṅka* (11) *eṉṟa* (12) *viyappa* (13) *eḷḷa* (14) *viḻaiya* (15) *viṟappa* (16) *nikarppa* (17) *kaḷḷa* (18) *kaṭuppa* (19) *kāyppa* (20) *matippa* (21) *takaiya* (22) *maruḷa* (23) *māṟṟa* (24) *maruppa* (25) *pulla* (26) *poruva* (27) *poṟpa* (28) *pōla* (29) *vella* (30) *vīḻa* (31) *nāṭa* and (32) *naḷiya* etc.

Note: *Pal-kuṟippiṉa* is a *viṉaiyāl-aṇaiyum-peyar* forming the adjunct of *avai-tām.*

283. அன்ன வாங்க[1] மான விறப்ப
என்ன வுறழத் தகைய நோக்கொடு
கண்ணிய வெட்டும் வினைப்பா லுவமம்.

Aṉṉa v-āṅka māṉa viṟappa
Eṉṉa v-uṟaḻa-t takaiya nōkkoṭu
Kaṇṇiya v-eṭṭum viṉai-p-pā l-uvamam.

The following eight particles *aṉṉa, āṅka, māṉa, viṟappa, eṉṉa, uṟaḻa, takaiya* and *nōkka* are used when the point of comparison is an action.

Note: It deserves to be noted that *nōkka* is not mentioned in the previous *sūtra* and has to be included under *aṉṉavai-piṟavum.*

284. அன்னவென் கிளவி பிறவொடுஞ் சிவணும்.
Aṉṉa-v-eṉ kiḷavi piṟavoṭuñ civaṇum.

The particle *aṉṉa* is used when others also are points of comparison.

285. எள்ள விழையப் புல்லப் பொருவக்
கள்ள மதிப்ப வெல்ல வீழ
என்றாங் கெட்டே பயனிலை யுவமம்.

Eḷḷa viḻaiya-p pulla-p poruva-k
Kaḷḷa matippa vella vīḻa
Eṉṟāṅ k-eṭṭ-ē payaṉilai y-uvamam.

1. ஆங்கு (இளம்.); ஆங்க (பேரா.).

The following eight *eḷḷa, viḻaiya, pulla, poruva, kaḷḷa, matippa, vella* and *vīḻa* are used when the point of comparison is effect.

286. கடுப்ப வேய்ப்ப மருளப் புரைய
ஒட்ட வொடுங்க வோட[1] நிகர்ப்பவென்று
அப்பா லெட்டே மெய்ப்பா லுவமம்.
Kaṭuppa v-ēyppa maruḷa-p puraiya
Oṭṭa v-oṭuṅka v-ōṭa nikarppa-v-eṉṟu
Ap-pā l-eṭṭ-ē mey-p--pā l-uvamam.

The following eight *kaṭuppa, ēyppa, maruḷa, puraiya, oṭṭa, oṭuṅka, ōṭa* and *nikarppa* are used when the point of comparison is quality.

287. போல மறுப்ப வொப்பக் காய்த்த
நேர வியப்ப நளிய நந்தவென்று
ஒத்துவரு கிளவி யுருவி னுவமம்.
Pōla maṟuppa v-oppa-k kāytta
Nēra viyappa naḷiya nanta-v-eṉṟu
Ottu-varu kiḷavi y-uruvi ṉ-uvamam.

The following eight *pōla, maṟuppa, oppa, kāytta, nēra, viyappa, naḷiya* and *nanta* are used when the point of comparison is colour.

Note: *Nēra* is not mentioned in the *sūtra* 282. *Viyatta* is the reading here.

288. தத்த மரபிற் றோன்றுமன் பொருளே.
Tatta marapiṟ ṟōṉṟumaṉ poruḷ-ē.

The meanings of the particles mentioned are those found in Literature.

289. நாலிரண் டாகும் பாலுமா ருண்டே.
Nāl-iraṇ ṭ-ākum pāl-um-ā r-uṇṭ-ē.

The four (kinds of *upamā* mentioned above) may be doubled.

Note: According to *Iḷampūraṇar, viṉai* is divided into *viṉai* and *viṉaikkuṟippu, payaṉ* into *naṟpayaṉ and tīppayaṉ, mey* into *vaṭivu* and *aḷavu* and *uru* into *niṟam* and *kuṇam*. According to *Pērāśiriyar* each is divided into *takai* and *viri*; *tokai* is where the point of comparison is implied and *viri* is where it is expressed.

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1. ஒட்ட (இளம்.); ஒட (பேரா.).

290. பெருமையுஞ் சிறுமையு மெய்ப்பா டெட்டன்
வழிமருங் கறியத் தோன்று மென்ப.
Perumai-y-uñ ciṟumai-y-u meyppā ṭ-eṭṭaṉ
Vaḻi-maruṅ k-aṟiya-t tōṉṟu m-eṉpa.

Greatness and smallness, they say, appear as points of comparisons in passages beaming with *meyppāṭu.*

Note: From this it is evident that figure of speech gives beauty only in passages which have the soul of *meyppāṭu.*

291. உவமப் பொருளி னுற்ற துணரும்
தெளிமருங் குளவே திறத்திய லான.
Uvama-p poruḷi ṉ-uṟṟa t-uṇarum
Teḷi-maruṅ k-uḷa-v-ē tiṟattiya lāṉ-a.

The heart of the poet in using a particular *upamāna* is clearly understood through ripe experience in Literature.

292. உவமப் பொருளை யுணருங் காலை
மருவிய மரபின் வழக்கொடு வருமே.
Uvama-p poruḷai y-uṇaruṅ kālai
Maruviya marapiṉ vaḻakkoṭu varum-ē.

The significance of the use of a particular *upamāna* is to be understood through the knowledge of tradition.

293. இரட்டைக் கிளவியு மிரட்டை வழித்தே.
Iraṭṭai-k kiḷavi-y-u m-iraṭṭai vaḻittē.

The *upamēya* consisting of a noun and an adjunct has an *upamāna* which also consists of a noun and an adjunct.

294. பிறிதொடு படாது பிறப்பொடு நோக்கி
[1] முன்ன மரபிற் கூறுங் காலைத்
துணிவொடு வருஉந் துணிவினோர் கொளினே.
Piṟitoṭu paṭātu piṟappoṭu nōkki
Muṉṉa marapiṟ kūṟuṅ kālai-t
Tuṇivoṭu varūun tuṇiviṉōr koḷiṉ-ē.

When a thing is described with reference to its origin following the rules of tradition without being compared to any other thing, the object to which it is compared can be seen by scholars through their ripe knowledge in Literature.

Note: This *sūtra* may be taken to refer to *uḷḷuṟai-y-uvamam* as *Pērāśiriyar* states.

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1. முன்னம் (இளம்.); முன்னை (பேரா.).

295. உவமப் போலி யைந்தென மொழிப.
Uvama-p-pōli y-aint-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that *pseudo-simile* is of five kinds.

Note: *Uvama-p-pōli,* according to *Iḷampūraṇar,* is those figures of speech where the *upamēya* and *upamāna* happen to be the same, or the *upamēya* has no *upamāna* or the *upamāna* is not an object found in nature, but created through the poet's imagination. But *Pērāśiriyar* takes *uvama-p-pōli* to be identical with *uḷḷuṟai-y-uvamam.* According to him it should be translated as the 'variety of simile.'

296. தவலருஞ் சிறப்பினத் தன்மை நாடின்
வினையினும் பயத்தினு முறுப்பினு முருவினும்
பிறப்பினும் வரூஉந் திறத்த வென்ப.

Taval-aṟuñ ciṟappiṉ-at taṉmai nāṭiṉ
Viṉaiyiṉ-um payattiṉ-u m-uṟuppiṉ-u m-uruviṉ-um
Piṟappiṉ-um varūun tiṟatta v-eṉpa.

If it is well described without any flaw, they may have reference to superiority in action, effect, parts, colour and origin.

Note: This *sūtra* defines the five kinds of *uvama-p-pōli.*

297. கிழவி சொல்லி னவளறி கிளவி.
Kiḻavi colli ṉ-avaḷ-aṟi kiḷavi.

If the lady-love makes use of *uvama-p-pōli,* the object described should be within the province of her knowledge.

Note: 1. *Uvama-p-pōli* is taken here from the *sūtra* 295, and becomes the object of *colliṉ*; the word *atu* is taken to be understood after *colliṉ* and forms the subject of *avaḷ-aṟi-kiḷavi.* The statement in the *Pērāśiriyam,* '*uḷḷuṟai-y-uvamai eṉpataṉai avaḷ-aṟi-kiḷavi eṉṟataṟku peyar-p-payaṉilai āka . . . . colli-k-koḷka*' should be '*uvama-p-pōli eṉpataṉai avaḷ-aṟi-kiḷavi eḻuvāy āka...colli-k-koḷka*'.

Note 2: The purpose of this *sūtra* is that the author should always be on the guard that, when he makes use of *uvama-p-pōli* through the mouth of the lady-love, he makes use of only such objects as fall within the range of her knowledge. She is not expected to know all the objects even of her region.

298. தோழிக் காயி னிலம்பெயர்த் துரையாது.
Tōḻi-k k-āyi ṉilam-peyarn t-uraiyātu.

If the *uvama-p-pōli* is used by the lady's friend, the objects described should not belong to the region other than that of her own.

Note 1. *Uvama-p-pōli* is taken here also from the *sūtra* 295 and forms the subject of *āyin*; *atu* is taken to be understood after *āyin*; *uraiyātu* is active in form and passive in meaning.

Note 2. This *sūtra* and the previous one are taken to be one *sūtra* in *Pērāśiriyam*.

299. கிழவோற் காயி னுரனொடு கிளக்கும்.
Kiḻavōr k-āyi ṉ-uraṉoṭu kiḷakkum.

If the *uvama-p-pōli* is made use of by the lover, it should be within the province of his knowledge.

Note. *Uvama-p-pōli* is taken here also. Since the lover is expected to have a wide experience of different regions, the poet's range of expressions which come through the mouth of the lover is wide.

300. ஏனோர்க் கெல்லா மிடம்வரை வின்றே.
Ēṉōr-k k-ellā m-iṭam-varai v-iṉr-ē.

If the *uvama-p-pōli* is made use of by others, there is no restriction about the region.

Note. *Pērāśiriyam* reads this *sūtra* with the previous one as one.

301. இனிதுறு கிளவியுந் துனியுறு கிளவியும்
உவம மருங்கிற் றோன்று மென்ப.
Iṉit-uṟu kiḷavi y-un tuṉiy-uṟu kiḷavi-y-um
Uvama maruṅkiṟ ṟōṉṟu m-eṉpa.

They say that the *meyppāṭu* - pleasure and love-quarrel- will be suggested through the suggested simile.

302. கிழவோட் குவமை[1] யீரிடத் துரித்தே
Kiḻavōṭ k-uvamai y-īr-iṭat t-uritt-ē.

The suggested simile in the expression of the lady-love deserves to suggest the above two.

Note. *Pērāśiriyar* takes the word *iṭam* to refer to the regions *marutam* and *neytal*. He further states that there was another reading *piriviṭattu* in place of *īr-iṭattu*, which

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1. உவமை (இளம்.); உவமம் (பேரா.).

should be taken to be incorrect, since it does not correspond to what is found in Literature.

303. கிழவோற் காயி னிடம்வரை வின்றே.
Kiḻavōṟ k-āyi ṉ-iṭam-varai v-iṉṟ-ē.

There is no restriction with respect to *iṭam* so far as the lover is concerned.

304. தோழியுஞ் செவிலியும் பொருந்துவழி நோக்கிக்
கூறுதற் குரியர் கொள்வழி யான.
Tōḻi-y-uñ cevili-y-um poruntuvaḻi nōkki-k
Kūṟutaṟ k-uriyar koḷvaḻi yāṉa.

Lady's friend and fostermother will have to make use of it as suits the context.

305. வேறுபட வந்த வுவமைத் தோற்றம்
கூறிய மருங்கிற் கொள்வழிக் கொளாஅல்.
Vēṟu-paṭa vanta v-uvamai-t tōṟṟam
Kūṟiya maruṅkiṟ koḷvaḻi-k koḷāal.

Upamā of a type not mentioned before but found in Literature should be taken into account.

306. ஒரீஇக் கூறலு மரீஇய பண்பே.
Orīi-k kūṟal-u marīiya paṇp-e.

It is tradition to describe that an object differs from another.

307. உவமைத் தன்மையு முரித்தென மொழிப
பயனிலை புரிந்த வழக்கத் தான.
Uvamai-t taṉmai-y-u m-uritt-eṉa moḻipa
Payaṉilai purinta vaḻakkat tāṉ-a.

They say that such expressions where effect - a point of comparison - is mentioned with reference to two objects do come under *upamā*.

308. தடுமாறு வரலுங் கடிவரை வின்றே.
Taṭumāṟu varal-uṅ kaṭi-varai v-iṉṟ-ē.

It is not excluded to use expressions suggesting simile in a way different from those mentioned.

Note. *Pērāśiriyar* says that this refers to the expressions where *upamēya* is described as *upamāna* and *vice versa*; but it has already been plainly stated in *sūtra* 9 *supra*,

309. அடுக்கிய தோற்றம் விடுத்தல் பண்பே
நிரனிறுத் [1]தமைத்த னிரனிறை சுண்ணம்
வரன்முறை வந்த மூன்றலங் கடையே.
Aṭukkiya tōṟṟam viṭuttal paṇp-ē
Niraṉiṟut t-amaitta ṉiraṉiṟai cuṇṇam
Varaṉ-muṟai vanta mūṉṟ-alaṅ kaṭai-y-ē.

Uvama-v-aṭukkŭ other than *niraṉiṟuttamaittal, niraṉiṟai* and *cuṇṇam* is to be avoided.

Note 1. When one object is compared to another, that object to another, that to another and so on, it is called *uvama-v-aṭukkŭ*. When the *upamēya* is compared to a series of *upamānas* arranged in order, it is called *niraṉiṟuttamaittal.* When a series of *upamēyas* are mentioned and their *upamānas* are mentioned together in the same order, it is called *niraṉiṟai.* When a series of *upamēyas* are mentioned together and their *upamānas* are given together not in the same order, it is called *cuṇṇam.* The definition of *niraṉiṟai* and *cuṇṇam* is given in the *sūtras* 405 and 406 of the *Collatikāram.*

Note 2. *Pēraśiriyar* takes the first line as one *sūtra* and the other two lines as another *sūtra.* The meaning of the last two lines is, according to him, that *niraṉiṟai* is that wherein two groups related to each other consists of words arranged in the same order and is other than the three headed by *cuṇṇam* (i.e.) *cuṇṇam, aṭimaṟi* and *moḻimāṟṟŭ.* There are three defects in this interpretation:—It has no bearing to this chapter; all the four have been explained in detail in the *Eccaviyal* of *Collatikāram*; and taking *cuṇṇam* under *varaṉ-muṟai vanta mūṉṟŭ* is against the flow of words in the *sūtra.*

Uvamai-y-iyal ends.

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1. அமைத்தல் (இளம்.); அமைத்த (பேரா.).

Section VIII. CEYYUL-IYAL.

(Chapter on Prosody).

310. மாத்திரை யெழுத்திய லசைவகை யெனாஅ
யாத்த சீரே யடியாப் பெனாஅ
மரபே தூக்கே தொடைவகை யெனாஅ
நோக்கே பாவே யளவிய லெனாஅ
திணையே கைகோள் [1]கூற்றுவகை யெனாஅ
கேட்போர் களனே காலவகை யெனாஅ
பயனே மெய்ப்பா டெச்சவகை யெனாஅ
முன்னம் பொருளே துறைவகை யெனாஅ
மாட்டே வண்ணமோ டியாப்பியல் வகையின்
ஆறுதலை யிட்ட வந்நா லைந்தும்
அம்மை யழகு தொன்மை தோலே
விருந்தே யியைபே புலனே யிழைபெனப்[2]
பொருந்தக் கூறிய வெட்டொடுந் தொகைஇ
நல்லிசைப் புலவர் செய்யு ளுறுப்பென
வல்லிதிற் கூறி வகுத்துரைத் தனரே.

Māttirai y:eḻuttiya l-acai-vakai-y-eṉāa
Yātta cīr-ē y-aṭi-yāp p-eṉāa
Marap-ē tūkk-ē toṭai-vakai y-eṉāa
Nōkk-ē pā-v-ē y-aḷaviya l-eṉāa
Tiṇai-y-ē kaikōḷ kūṟṟu-vakai y-eṉāa
Kēṭpōr kaḷaṉ-ē kāla-vakai y-eṉāa
Payaṉ-ē meyppā ṭ-ecca-vakai y-eṉāa
Muṉṉam poruḷ-ē tuṟai-vakai y-eṉāa
Māṭṭ-ē vaṇṇamō ṭi-yāppiyal vakaiyiṉ
Āṟu talai-y-iṭṭa v-ai-n-nā l-aintum
Ammai y-aḻaku toṉmai tōl-ē
Viruntē y-iyaip-ē pulaṉ-ē y-iḻaip-eṉa-p
Porunta-k kūṟiya v-eṭṭoṭun tokaii
Nal-l-icai-p pulavar ceyyu ḷ-uṟupp-eṉa
Vallitiṟ kūṟi vakutturai-t taṉar-ē.

Scholars of fame have classified in clear terms that the following *twenty-six* along with the *eight* that follow are the, limbs of Poetry:—*Māttirai, eḻuttu, acai, cīr, aṭi, yāppiu, marapu, tūkku, toṭai, nōkku, pā, aḷavu, tiṇai, kaikōḷ, kūṟṟu,*

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1. பொருள் (இளம்.) ; கூற்று (பேரா.)
2. என (இளம்.) ; எனாஅ (பேரா.)

kēṭpōr, kaḷaṉ, kālam, payaṉ, meyppāṭu, eccam, muṉṉam, poruḷ, tuṟai, māṭṭu, vaṇṇam, and *ammai, aḻaku, toṉmai, tōl, viruntu, iyaipu, pulaṉ* and *iḻaipu.*

311. அவற்றுள்
மாத்திரை [1]வகையு மெழுத்தியல் வகையும்
[2]மேற்கிளந் தனவே யென்மனார் புலவர்.

Avaṟṟuḷ
Māttirai vakai-y-u m-eḻuttiyal vakai-y-um
Mēṟ-kiḷan taṉa-v-ē y-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that, of them, the nature of *māttirai* (*mātrā*) and *eḻuttu* has been mentioned before, (i.e.) in *Nūṉmarapu* of *Eḻuttatikāram.*

312. குறிலே நெடிலே குறிலிணை குறினெடில்
ஒற்றொடு வருதலொடு மெய்ப்பட நாடி
நேரு நிரையு மென்றிசிற் பெயரே.

Kuṟil-ē neṭil-ē kuṟiliṇai kuṟiṉeṭil
Oṟṟoṭu varutaloṭu meyppaṭa nāṭi
Nēr-u nirai-y-u m-eṉṟiciṟ peyar-ē.

(Of them), one short syllable, or one long syllable with or without a consonant after it is called *nēr-acai* and two short syllables or one short syllable followed by a long syllable with or without a consonant after it is called *nirai-acai.*

Note: The world *acai* and *avaṟṟuḷ* are taken here from the first and second *sūtras* respectively.

313. இருவகை யுகரமோ டியைந்தவை வரினே
நேர்பு நிரைபு மாகு மென்ப
குறிலிணை யுகர மல்வழி யான.

Iru-vakai y-ukaramō ṭ-iyaintavai variṉ-ē
Nērpu niraipu m-āku m-eṉpa
Kuṟil-iṇai y-ukara m-alvaḻi yāṉ-a.

They say that, if they (*nēr* and *nirai*) are followed by the two kinds of *ukaram* (*muṟṟukaram* and *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*), they are called *nērpu* and *niraipu* except when one short syllable is followed by *ukaram.*

Note: The third line is taken as a separate *sūtra* by *Pērāśiriyār* which does not seem to be sound.

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1. வகை (இளம்.); அளவு (பேரா.).
2. மேற்கிளந் தனவே (இளம்.); மேற்கிளந்தன்ன (பேரா.)

314. இயலசை முதலிரண் டேனவை யுரியசை.
Iyal-acai mutal-iraṉ ṭ-ēṉavai y-uri-y-acai.

The first two (*nēr-acai* and *nirai-y-acai*) are called *iyal-acai* and rest (*nērpacai* and *niraipacai*) are called *uri-y-acai.*

315. தனிக்குறின் முதலசை மொழிசிதைந்[1] தாகாது.
Taṉi-k-kuṟiṉ mutal acai moḻi-citain t-ākātu.

A single short syllable cannot be taken as *nēr-acai,* if it necessitates a word to be unnaturally split.

316. ஒற்றெழுத் தியற்றே குற்றிய லிகரம்.
Oṟṟeḻut t-iyaṟṟ-ē kuṟṟiya l-ikaram.

Kuṟṟiyal-ikaram is of the nature of consonants.

317. முற்றிய லுகரமு மொழிசிதைத்துக் கொளாஅ
நிற்ற லின்றே யீற்றடி மருங்கினும்.
Muṟṟiya l-ukaram-u moḻi-citaittu-k koḷāa
Niṟṟa l-iṉṟē y-īṟṟaṭi maruṅkiṉ-um.

Muṟṟiyal-ukaram is not taken as a part of *nērpu* or *niraipu,* if it necessitates a word to be unnaturally split and it does not stand as an *acai* at the end of a foot.

318. குற்றிய லுகரமு முற்றிய லுகரமும்
ஒற்றொடு தோன்றி நிற்கவும் பெறுமே.
Kuṟṟiya l-ukaram-u muṟṟiya l-ukaram-um
Oṟṟoṭu tōṉṟi niṟka-v-um peṟum-ē.

Both *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* and *muṟṟiyal-ukaram* followed by a consonant may stand as *acai.*

Note: The word *acai* is taken here from the previous *sūtras.*

319. அசையுஞ் சீரு மிசையொடு சேர்த்தி
வகுத்தன ருணர்த்தல் வல்லோ ராறே.
Acai-y-uñ cīr-u m-icaiyoṭu cērtti
Vakuttaṉa r-uṇarttal vallōr-āṟ-ē.

The practice of the great is to split a line with reference to *cīr* and *acai* as befits *icai* (harmonious sound).

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1. சிதைந்து (இளம்.); சிதைத்து (பேரா.)

320. ஈரசை கொண்டு மூவசை புணர்த்தும்[1]
சீரியைந் திற்றது சீரெனப் படுமே.
Īr-acai koṇṭu mū-v-acai puṇarttum
Cīr-iyain tiṟṟatu cīr-eṉa-p paṭum-ē.

Cīr is made up of two *acais* or three in harmony with sound and sense.

Note: *Koṇṭu* may be taken as the third case *collurupu.*

321. இயலசை மயக்க மியற்சீ ரேனை
உரியசை மயக்க மாசிரிய வுரிச்சீர்.
Iyal-acai mayakka m-iyar-cī r-ēṉai
Uri-y-acai mayakka m-āciriya v-uriccīr.

Combination of *iyal-acai* forms *iyaṟ-cīr* and that of *uri-y-acai* forms *āciriya-v-uriccīr.*

Example: *Iyaṟcīr-tēmā, puḷimā, karuviḷam, kūviḷam. Āciriya-v-uriccīr, āṟṟunōkku, āṟṟuvaravu, varakucōṟu, varaku-taviṭu.*

322. முன்னிரை யிறினு[2] மன்ன வாகும்.
Muṉṉirai y-iṟiṉu m-aṉṉa v-ākum

If *nērpu* or *niraipu* is followed by *nirai* at the end, it is also included under *āciriya-v-uriccīr.*

Example: *Yāṟṟumaṭai, kuḷattumaṭai.*

323. நேரவ ணிற்பி னியற்சீர்ப் பால.
Nēr-ava ṇiṟpi ṉ-iyaṟcīr-p pāl-a.

If *nērpu* or *niraipu* is followed by *nēr* at the end, it comes under *iyaṟcīr.*

Example: *Āṟṟukkāl, kuḷattukkāl.*

324. இயலசை யீற்றுமு னுரியசை வரினே
நிரையசை யியல வாகு மென்ப.
Iyal-acai y-īṟṟu-mu ṉ-uri-y-acai variṉ-ē
Nirai-y-acai y-iyala v-āku m-eṉpa.

They say that, if *iyal-acai* is followed by *uri-y-acai*, it is considered to be similar to *iyal-acai* being followed by *nirai-y-acai.*

Example: *Māṅkāṭu, kaḷaṅkāṭu, pāykuraṅku, kaṭikuraṅku.*

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1. புணர்த்தும் (இளம்.); புணர்க்கும் (பேரா.)
2. இறினும் (இளம்.); உறினும் (பேரா.)

325. அளபெடை யசைநிலை யாகலு முரித்தே.

Aḷapeṭai y-acainilai y-ākal-u m-uritt-ē.

Aḷapeṭai may stand as an *acai.*

Note 1. *Iḷampūraṇar* states that in *kaṭāa* (*Kuṟaḷ* 585), *kaṭā* is *nirai-y-acai,* and *a nēr-acai*: *Pērāśiriyar* states that *ā a* is *tē-mā.* Hence it is evident that *a* which follows *ā* is *aḷapeṭai* according to *Tolkāppiyaṉār.* Still it is a piece of wonder that all the commentators—*Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar, Pērāśiriyar* and *Naccinārkkiṉiyar*— state that *aḷapeṭai* has three *mātrās.* This may be due to the fact that they follwed the author of the *Vīracōḻiyam* who mistook *alapeṭai* for *pluta* in Sanskrit.

Note 2: Since the next *sūtra* deals with *oṟṟaḷapeṭai, aḷapeṭai* here should be taken to refer to *uyir-aḷapeṭai.*

326. ஒற்றள பெடுப்பினு மற்றென மொழிப.

Oṟṟ-aḷa p-eṭuppiṉu m-aṟṟ-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that consonantal *aḷapeṭai* too is of the same nature (i.e.) it may stand as an *acai.*

Example: Kaṇṇ ṭaṇṇeṉa-k kaṇṭuṅ kēṭṭum (Malaipaṭukaṭām, 352)

327. இயற்சீ ரிறுதிமுன் னேரவ ணிற்பின்
உரிச்சீர் வெண்பா வாகு மென்ப.

Iyaṟ-cī r-iṟuti-muṉ ṉēr-ava ṇiṟpiṉ
Uri-c-cīr veṇpā v-āku m-eṉpa.

If *nēr-acai* follows *iyaṟ-cīr,* it is called *veṇpā-v-uriccīr.*

Example: Māvāḻkāṉ, māvarukāṉ, pulivāḻkāṉ, pulivarukāṉ.

328. வஞ்சிச் சீரென வகைபெற் றனவே
வெண்சீ ரல்லா மூவசை யென்ப.

Vañci-c cīr-eṉa vakai-peṟ ṟaṉa-v-ē
Veṇcī r-allā mū-v-acai y-eṉpa.

All the *mūvacai-c-cīr* other than *veṇpā-v-uriccīr* are called *vañci-c-cīr.*

They are *sixy* in number:

Example: *māvāḻneṟi, pulivāḻ-neṟi, pāmpuvāḻkāṉ, kaḷiṟuvāḻkāṉ, māvāḻkāṭu, pulivāḻkāṭu, pāmpuvāḻneṟi, kaḷiṟuvāḻneṟi, māvāḻporuppu, pulivāḻporuppu, pāmpuvāḻkāṭu, kaḷiṟuvāḻkāṭu, māvaruneṟi, pulivaruneṟi, pāmpuvāḻporuppu, kaḷiṟuvāḻporuppu,*

māvarukāṭu, pulivarukāṭu, pāmpuvarukāṉ, kaḷiṟuvarukāṉ, māvaruporuppu, pulivaruporuppu, pāmpuvaruneṟi, kaḷiṟuvaruneṟi, māpōkukāṉ, pulipōkukāṉ, pāmpuvarukaṭu, kaḷiṟuvarukāṭu, māpōkuṉēṟi, pulipōkuneṟi, pāmpuvaruporuppu, kaḷiṟuvaruporuppu, māpōkukāṭu, pulipōkukāṭu, pāmpupōkukāṉ, kaḷiṟupōkukāṉ, māpōkuporuppu, pulipōkuporuppu, pāmpupōkuṉeṟi, kaḷiṟupōkuneṟi, māvāḻaṅkukāṉ, pulivāḻaṅkūkāṉ, pāmpupōkukāṭu, kaḷiṟupōkukāṭu, māvoḻaṅkuneṟi, pulivaḻaṅkuneṟi, pāmpupōkuporuppu, kaḷiṟupōkuporuppu, māvaḻaṅkukāṭu, pulivaḻaṅkukāṭu, pāmpuvaḻaṅkukāṉ, kaḷiṟuvāḻaṅkukāṉ, māvaḻaṅkuporuppu, pulivaḻaṅkuporuppu, pāmpuvaḻaṅkuneṟi, kaḷiṟuvaḻaṅkuneṟi, pāmpuvaḻaṅkukāṭu, kaḷiṟuvaḻaṅkukāṭu, pāmpuvaḻaṅkuporuppu, kaḷiṟuvaḻaṅkuporuppu.

329. தன்பா வல்வழித் தானடை யின்றே.

Taṉ-pā v-alvaḻi-t tāṉaṭai y-iṉṟ-ē.

Vañci-y-uriccīr is not found in any *pā* other than *vañci-p-pā.*

330. வஞ்சி மருங்கி னெஞ்சிய வுரிய.

Vañci maruṅki n-eñciya v-uriya.

The other *cīrs* (i.e.) *āciriya-v-uriccīr* and *veṇpā-v-uriccīr* may be found in *vañci-p-pā.*

Note: *Vañci* here refers to *vañci-p-pā.*

331. வெண்பா வுரிச்சீ ராசிரிய வுரிச்சீர்
இன்பா நேரடிக் கொருங்குநிலை யிலவே.

Veṇpā v-uriccī r-āciriya v-uriccīr
Iṉpā nēr-aṭik k-oruṅku-nilai y-ila-vē.

Veṇpā-v-uriccīr and *āciriya-v-uriccīr* are not found in the foot of *veṇpā* which has four *cīrs.*

Note: *Iṉpā* is taken by *Iḷampūraṇar* to refer to *veṇpā. Pērāśiriyar* says that *iṉpā-nēr-aṭi* refers to *āciriya-v-aṭi.*

332. கலித்தளை மருங்கிற் கடியவும் பெறாஅ[1].

Kalittaḷai maruṅkiṟ kaṭiya-v-um peṟāa.

They (*veṇpā-v-uriccīr* and *āciriya-v-uriccīr*) are not prohibited in *kalittaḷai-maruṅku* or *kalippā.*

333. கலித்தளை யடிவயி னேரீற் றியற்சீர்
நிலைக்குரித் தன்றே தெரியு மோர்க்கே.

Kalittaḷai y-aṭi-vayi ṉēr-īṟ ṟiyaṟcīr
Nilaikk-urit t-aṉṟ-ē teriyu mōrkk-ē.

1. பெறூஅ (இளம்.); படாஅ (பேரா.)

Iyaṟcīr which has *nēr-acai* at the end does not, in the opinion of scholars, appear in the *kaṭṭaḷai-y-aṭi* of *kalippā.*

334. வஞ்சி மருங்கினு மிறுதி நில்லாது[1].

Vañci maruṅkiṉ-u m-iṟuti nillātu.

Nēr-īṟṟiyaṟcīr does not stand at the end of a foot in *vañci-p-pā.*

Note: *Nēr-īṟṟiyaṟcīr* is taken here from the previous *sūtra.*

335. இசைநிலை நிறைய நிற்குவ[2] தாயின்
அசைநிலை வரையார் சீர்நிலை பெறலே[3].

Icai-ṉilai niṟaiya niṟkuva tāyiṉ
Acai-nilai varaiyār cīr-nilai peṟa-v-ē.

They do not prohibit *acai* to be considered a *cīr* if it satisfies the harmony of the sound.

336. இயற்சீர்ப் பாற்படுத் தியற்றினர் கொளலே
தளைவகை சிதையாத் தன்மை யான.

Iyaṟ-cīr-p pāṟpaṭut t-iyaṟṟiṉar koḷal-ē
Taḷai-vakai citaiyā-t taṉmai yāṉ-a.

Ōr-acai-c-cīr may be taken to be similar to *iyaṟcīr* if no harm is done to *taḷai.*

Note: *Ōr-acai-c-cīr* is got from the previous *sūtra.*

337. வெண்சீ ரீற்றசை நிரையசை யியற்றே.

Veṇ-cī r-īṟṟacai nirai-y-acai y-iyaṟṟe.

The final *acai* in *veṇpā-v-uriccīr* is to function like *nirai* (in *iyaṟcīr-acai*).

Note: *Iyaṟ-cīr* is taken from the previous *sūtra.*

338. இன்சீ ரியைய வருகுவ தாயின்
வெண்சீர் வரையா ராசிரிய வடிக்கே.

Iṉcī r-iyaiya varukuva t-āyiṉ
Veṇ-cīr varaiyā r-āciriya v-aṭikk-ē.

They do not prohibit *veṇpā-v-uriccīr* in *āciriya-v-aṭi,* if it appears to be sweet to the ear.

339. அந்நிலை மருங்கின் வஞ்சி யுரிச்சீர்
ஒன்றுத லுடைய [4]வொரோவொரு வழியே.

A-n-nilai maruṅkiṉ vañci y-uri-c-cīr
Oṉṟuta l-uṭaiya v-orō v-oru vaḻi-y-ē.

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1. நில்லாது (இளம்.); நில்லா (பேரா.)
2. நிற்குவது (இளம்.); நிற்குவ (பேரா.)
3. பெறுமே (இளம்.); பெறலே (பேரா.)
4. ஒரோரு (இளம்.); ஒரொரு (பேரா.)

Vañci-y-uriccīr may come rarely in *āciriya-v-aṭi* for the same reason, i.e., if it is sweet to the ear.

Note: *Pērāśiriyar* says that the above is allowed in all *āciriya-v-aṭi* other than *kaṭṭaḷai-y-aṭi.*

340. நாற்சீர் கொண்ட தடியெனப் படுமே.
Nāṟ-cīr koṇṭa t-aṭi-y-eṉa-p paṭum-ē.

That which contains four *cīrs* is generally called *aṭi* or foot.

341. அடியுள் ளனவே தளையொடு தொடையே.
Aṭi-y-uḷ ḷaṉa-v-ē taḷaiyoṭu toṭai-y-ē.

Taḷai and *toṭai* are found only in the foot (of four *cīrs*).

342. அடியிறந்து வருத லில்லென மொழிப.
Aṭi-y-iṟantu varuta l-il-l-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that they are not found in feet other than they.

343. அடியின் சிறப்பே பாட்டெனப் படுமே.
Aṭiyiṉ ciṟappē pāṭṭ-eṉa-p paṭum-ē.

A verse which has feet of four *cīrs* is called *pāṭṭu.*

344. நாலெழுத் தாதி யாக வாறெழுத்து
ஏறிய நிலத்தே குறளடி யென்ப.
Nāl-eḻut t-āti y-āka v-āṟ-eḻuttu
Ēṟiya nilattē kuṟaḷ-aṭi y-eṉpa.

They say that *kuṟaḷ-aṭi* contains four to six syllables.

345. ஏழெழுத் தென்ப சிந்தடிக் களவே
ஈரெழுத் தேற்ற மவ்வழி யான.
Ēḻ-eḻut t-eṉpa cintaṭik k-aḷav-ē
Īr-eḻut t-ēṟṟa m-alvaḻi yāṉ-a.

They say that *cintaṭi* contains seven to nine syllables.

346. பத்தெழுத் தென்ப நேரடிக் களவே
ஒத்த நாலெழுத் தேற்றலங் கடையே.
Patteḻut t-eṉpa nēr-aṭik k-aḷavē
Otta nāl-eḻut tēṟṟalaṅ kaṭai-y-ē.

Nēraṭi or *aḷavaṭi*, they say, contains ten to fourteen syllables.

347. மூவைந் தெழுத்தே நெடிலடிக் களவே
ஈரெழுத்து மிகுதலு மியல்பென மொழிப.
Mū-v-ain t-eḻuttē neṭil-aṭik k-aḷav-ē
Īr-eḻuttu mikutal-u m-iyalp-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that *neṭil-aṭi* contains fifteen to seventeen syllables.

348. மூவா றெழுத்தே கழிநெடிற் களவே
ஈரெழுத்து மிகுதலு மியல்பென மொழிப.
Mū-v-ā ṟ-eḻuttē kaḻi-neṭiṟ k-aḷav-ē
Īr-eḻuttu mikutal-u m-iyalp-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that *kaḻi-neṭil-aṭi* contains eighteen to twenty syllables.

349. சீர்நிலை தானே யைந்தெழுத் திறவாது.
Cīr-nilai tāṉ-ē y-ainteḻut t-iṟavātu.

Any *cīr* does not exceed five syllables.

350. நேர்நிலை வஞ்சிக் காறு மாகும்.
Nēr-nilai vañcik k-āṟu mākum.

Nēr-nilai-vañci or *vañci* with two *cīrs* may have six syllables too.

Note: *Iḷampūraṇar* reads this *sūtra* with the previous one and adopts the reading *nēr-nirai* for *nēr-nilai*. *Pērāśiriyar* reads them as two *sūtras* and adopts the reading *nēr-nilai*. His opinion seems to be sound.

351. எழுத்தள வெஞ்சினுஞ் சீர்நிலை தானே
குன்றலு மிகுதலு மில்லென மொழிப.
Eḻuttaḷa v-eñciṉuñ cīr-nilai tāṉ-ē
Kuṉṟal-u mikutal-u m-il-l-eṉa moḻipa.

The number of *cīr* does neither increase nor decrease though the number of syllables may vary.

352. [1]உயிரில் லெழுத்து மெண்ணப் படாஅ
உயிர்த்திற மியக்க மின்மை யான.
Uyir-il l-eḻuttu m-eṇṇa-p paṭāa
Uyirttiṟa m-iyakka m-iṉmai yāṉ-a.

Sound other than a vowel is not taken to account, since it is not an open sound like a vowel.

Note: 1 This *sūtra* clearly tells us that *eḻuttu* in the previous *sūtras* refer to *syllable*.

Note 2: It seems to me that the reading *uyir-al-eḻuttu* is better than *uyir-il-l-eḻuttu*. Cf. *avar-al-a* in the first *sūtra* of the *Collatikāram*.

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1. உயிரில்லெழுத்து (இளம்.); உயிரிலெழுத்து (பேரா.)

353. வஞ்சி யடியே யிருசீர்த் தாகும்.
Vañci y-aṭi-y-ē y-iru-cīrt t-ākum.

The foot of *vañci-p-pā* has two *cīrs*.

354. தன்சீ ரெழுத்தின் சிறுமை மூன்றே.
Taṉ-cīr-eḻuttiṉ ciṟumai mūṉṟē.

Three syllables is the minimum in the *vañci-y-uri-c-cīr.*

355. முச்சீ ரானும் வருமிட னுடைத்தே.
Mu-c-cī rāṉ-um varum-iṭa ṉ-uṭaitt-ē.

There are places where the foot of the *vañci-p-pā* has three *cīrs*.

356. அசைகூ னாகு மவ்வயி னான.
Acai-kū ṉ-āku m-a-v-vayi ṉāṉ-a.

A syllable may stand as a detached foot in *vañci-p-pā.*

357. சீர்கூ னாத னேரடிக் குரித்தே.
Cīr-kū ṉ-āta ṉēr-aṭik k-uritt-ē.

In *aḷavaṭi*, a *cīr* may stand as a detached foot.

358. ஐவகை யடியும் விரிக்குங் காலை
மெய்வகை யமைந்த பதினேழ் நிலத்த
எழுபது வகையின்[1] வழுவில வாகி
அறுநூற் றிருபத் தைந்தா கும்மே.
Ai-vakai y-aṭi-y-um virikkuṅ kālai
Mey-vakai y-amainta patiṉēḻ nilatta
Eḻupatu vakaiyiṉ vaḻu-v-ila v-āki
Aṟu-nūṟ ṟirupat taint-ā kum-m-ē.

The five feet, when described in detail, with syllables of seventeen kinds from four-syllabled foot to twenty-seven-syllabled foot are, first of all, seventy faultless kinds and then of 625 kinds.

Note 1: The five kinds of feet are: *Kuṟaḷ-aṭi, cintaṭi, nēraṭi, neṭil-aṭi* and *kaḻi-neṭil-aṭi.*

Note 2: The seventy kinds of feet are: *iyaṟcīr-aṭi, āciriya-v-uriccīr-aṭi, iyaṟcīr-veḷḷaṭi, veṇcīr-aṭi, nirai-y-īṟṟu-vañci-y-aṭi, uri-y-acai-y-īṟṟu vañci-yaṭi* and *acai-c-cīr-aṭi,* each being subdivided into ten-kinds.

Iyarcirati

Nêr-irriyarcir-ati.	Nirai-y-irriyarcirati.
Nēr-mutal-iyarcir, nērpu-mutal-uriccir, ner - mutal - venpā-v-uriccir, nēr - mutal - vañci-y-uriccir, nēr-mutal-ōracaiccir.	Nirai - mutal - iyarcir, niraipu-mutal-uriccir, nirai - mutal - venpā-v uriccir, nirai-mutal-veñci-y-uriccir, nirai-mutal ōracaiccir.

Similarly *āciriya-v-uriccir-ati* may have either *nērpu* or *niraipu* at the end and five kinds of initial *cir* like *nērpu*, *nēr* etc, thus subdividing itself into ten kinds. *Iyarcir vellati* may have *nēr* or *nirai* at the end, *nēr-īrū* may have the five kinds of initial *cir*, *niraipu*, *nirai* etc.; and *nirai-y-īrū*, *nērpu*, *nēr* etc., thus subdividing itself into ten kinds.

Vencir may have *nēr* or *nirai* for the initial *cir*. They may have at the end *nērpu*, *nēr* etc., or *niraipu*, *nirai* etc., thus subdividing themselves into ten kinds.

Similarly, *nirai-y-irru-vañci-y-uriccir*, *uri-y-acai-y-irru-vañci-y-ati* and *acai-c-cir-ati*, each subdivides itself into ten kinds.

Note 3: The five *cir*, *acai-c-cir*, *iyarcir*, *āciriya-v-uriccir*, *vencir* and *vañci-y-uriccir*, when followed by any one of them thrice, form 5×5×5×5=625 kinds of feet.

359. ஆங்கனம்[1] விரிப்பி னளவிறந் தனவே
பாங்குற வுணர்ந்தோர் பன்னுங் காலை.
Ānkanam virippi-n-alav-iran tana-v-ē
Pānkurav-unarntōr pannun kālai.

The classification of others like *nār-cir-ati* in that way is endless in the literature of refined scholars.

360. ஐவகை யடியு மாசிரியக் குரிய.
Ai-vakai y-ati-y-u m-āciriyak k-uriya.

Āciriyappā may have all the five kinds of feet having *nār-cir*.

361. விராஅய் வரினு மொரூஉநிலை யிலவே.
Virāay varin-u m-orūunilai y-ila-v-ē.

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1. ஆங்கனம் (இளம்.); ஆங்ஙனம் (பேரா.).

It may not be prohibited if any foot in *āciriyam* is mixed up with different kinds of cīrs.

362. தன்சீர் வகையினுந் தளைநிலை வகையினும்
இன்சீர் வகையி னைந்தடிக் குரிய
தன்சீ ருள்வழித் தளைவகை வேண்டா.

Taṉ-cīr vakaiyiṉun taḷai-nilai vakaiyiṉ-um
In-cīr vakaiyi ṉ-aint-aṭikku m-uriya
Taṉ-cī ruḷvaḻi-t taḷai-vakai vēṇṭā.

Different kinds of *taḷai* are not necessary in the stanza which has the prescribed *cīr* and which can have the five kinds of feet, if it sounds well with its *cīr* and *taḷai.*

Note. *Pērāśiriyar* reads the first two lines as one *sūtra* and the third line as another. The meaning which he gives to the former is this:—There may be five kinds of feet with reference to *āciriya-v-uriccīr, taḷai-vakai* being suited to it with *iṉ-cīr* (harmony to the ear). The meaning given to the latter is this:—*Veṇcīr* does not need *taḷai-vakai.*

363. சீரியன் மருங்கி னோரசை யொப்பின்
ஆசிரியத் தளையென் றறியல் வேண்டும்.

Cīr-iyaṉ maruṅki ṉ-ōr-acai y-oppiṉ
Āciriya-t taḷai-y-eṉ ṟ-aṟiyal vēṇṭum.

When there are two cīrs one following the other, and the final *acai* of the former is identical with the initial *acai* of the latter, it must be said that it is *āciriya-t-taḷai,* i.e., if that *acai* is *nēr,* it is called *nēr-oṉṟiya-āciriya-t-taḷai* and if it is *nirai,* it is called *nirai-oṉṟiya-āciriya-t-taḷai* The former *cīr* is *iyaṟ cīr* and the latter is generally one other than it.

364. குறளடி முதலா வளவடி காறும்
உறழ்நிலை யிலவே வஞ்சிக் கென்ப.

Kuṟaḷ-aṭi mutal-ā v-aḷavaṭi kāṟum
Uṟaḻ-nilai y-ila-v-ē vañcik k-eṉpa.

They say that *vañci-y-uriccīr* does not appear in *kuṟaḷ-aṭi, cintaṭi* and *aḷavaṭi.*

365. அளவுஞ் சிந்தும் வெள்ளைக் குரிய
தளைவகை யொன்றாத் தன்மை யான.

Aḷavuñ cintum veḷḷaik k-uriya
Taḷai-vakai y-oṉṟā-t taṉmai yāṉ-a.

Veṇpā deserve to have *aḷavaṭi* and *cintaṭi* with non-agreeing *taḷai.*

Note: *Iḷampūraṇar* says that, with agreeing *taḷai*, *neṭilaṭi* may sometimes be found.

366. அளவடி மிகுதி யுளப்படத் தோன்றி
இருநெடி லடியுங் கலியிற் குரிய.
Aḷavaṭi mikuti y-uḷappaṭa-t tōṉṟi
Iru-neṭi l-aṭi-y-uṅ kaliyiṟ k-uriya.

Kalippā deserves to have the two kinds of *neṭil-aṭi*, i.e., *ṅeṭil-aṭi* and *kaḻi-neṭil-aṭi*.

Note: The second line alone is capable of giving the full meaning of the *sūtra*. Hence, the first line seems to have been composed by the author for the sake of clearness. Or, the first line may be taken to suggest that *um* after *iru-ṅeṭil-aṭi* is *muṟṟummai* and not *ecca-v-ummai*.

367. நிரைமுதல் வெண்சீர் வந்துநிரை தட்டல்[1]
வரைநிலை யின்றே யவ்வடிக் கென்ப.
Nirai-mutal veṇcīr vantu-nirai taṭṭal
Varai-nilai y-iṉṟ-ē y-a-v-v-aṭik k-eṉpa.

It is not prohibited with reference to that *aṭi* (*kalippā-v-aṭi*) to have *nirai-mutal-veṇ-cīr* (after *veṇpā-v-uriccīr*).

Note: *Pērāśiriyar* takes *nirai-y-iṟṟiyaṟcīr* and *nirai-y-iṟṟāciriya-v-uriccīr* in place of *veṇpā-v-uriccīr* taken by *Iḷampūraṇar*. Both of them are not mentioned in the *sūtra*.

368. விராஅய தளையு மொரூஉநிலை யிலவே.
Virāaya taḷai-y-u m-orūu-nilai y-ila-v-ē.

It is not to be prohibited if *taḷai* is of a mixed nature.

Note: *Iḷampūraṇar* holds that *veṇṭaḷai* and *āciriyattaḷai* may get mixed.

369. இயற்சீர் வெள்ளடி யாசிரிய மருங்கின்
நிலைக்குரி மரபி னிற்பவு முளவே.[1]
Iyaṟcīr veḷḷaṭi y-āciriya maruṅkiṉ
Nilaikkuri marapi ṉiṟpa-v-u m-uḷa-v-ē.[2]

Veṇpā-v-aṭi with *iyaṟcīr-veṇṭaḷai* may find a place in *āciriyappā*.

370. வெண்டளை விரவியு மாசிரியம் விரவியும்
ஐஞ்சீ ரடியு முளவென மொழிப.

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1. தட்டல் (இளம்.); தட்பினும் (பேரா.).
2. நிற்பவுமுளவே (இளம்.); நிற்கவும் பெறுமே (பேரா.).

Veṇṭaḷai viravi-y-u m-āciriyam viravi-y-um
Aiñcī r-aṭi-y-u m-uḷa-v-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that *āciriyappā* may have five kinds of feet with *veṇṭaḷai* and *āciriyattaḷai* mixed together.

Note 1: According to *Iḷampūraṇar, āciriya-maruṅkiṉ* is taken here from the previous *sūtra.*

Note 2: *Pērāśiaiyar* thinks that this *sūtra* tells that *kalippā* has five kinds of feet. He further adds *veṇṭaḷaiyoṭu viravum eṉavē aiñcīraṭi avaṟṟukku uriyavalla eṉpatām; eṉavē kalippāviṉkaṇ varum aiñcīraṭiyāyiṉ a-k-kaliyōcaikku urimai-yuṭaittu eṉpatām.*

371. அறுசீ ரடியே யாசிரியத் தளையொடு
நெறிபெற்று வரூஉ நேரடி முன்னே.
Aṟu-cī r-aṭi-y-ē y-āciriya-t taḷaiyoṭu
Neṟi-peṟṟu varūu nēr-aṭi muṉṉē.

Foot having six *cīrs* may appear in *āciriyappā* with *āciriyat-taḷai* also after *nēr-aṭi* or the foot with four *cīrs.*

Note: *Āciriya-maruṅkiṉ* is taken here also.

372. எழுசீ ரடியே முடுகிய நடக்கும்.
Eḻu-cī r-aṭi-y-ē muṭukiya naṭakkum.

Foot with seven *cīrs* may come in *muṭukiyal*, which is a part of *kalippā.*

373. முடுகியல் வரையார் முதலிரண் டடிக்கும்.
Muṭukiyal varaiyār mutal-iraṇ ṭ-aṭikkum.

Feet with five and six *cīrs* are not prohibited in *muṭukiyal.*

374. ஆசிரிய மருங்கினும் வெண்பா மருங்கினும்
மூவகை யடியு முன்னுத லிலவே.
Āciriya maruṅkiṉum veṇpā maruṅkiṉum
Mūvakai y-aṭi-y-u muṉṉuta l-ila-v-ē.

The three kinds of feet (of muṭukiyal) do not make their appearance in *āciriyappā* and *veṇpā.*

375. ஈற்றய லடியே யாசிரிய மருங்கின்
தோற்ற முச்சீர்த் தாகு மென்ப.
Īṟṟaya l-aṭi-y-ē y-āciriya maruṅkin
Tōṟṟa mu-c-cīr-t t-āku m-eṉpa.

The penultimate foot in the *āciriyappā* may, they say, have three *cīrs.*

376. இடையும் வரையார் தொடையுணர்ந் தோரே.[1]

Itai-y-um varaiyār totai-y-uṇarn tōr-ē.

Scholars in Prosody do not prohibit the last two feet but one from having three *cīr*s.

377. முச்சீர் முரற்கையு ணிறையவு நிற்கும்.

Mu-c-cīr murarkaiyu ṇiraiyavu nirkum.

In *kalippā* the penultimate foot may have four *cīr*s instead of three.

Note: *Pērāśiriyar's* interpretation is totally different. It is this: All the feet in *kalippā* may have three *cīr*s.

378. வஞ்சித் தூக்கே செந்தூக் கியற்றே.

Vañci-t tūkk-ē centūk k-iyarr-ē.

The feet at the end of *vañcippā* is similar to those of *āciriya-p-pā*, i.e., the penultimate foot may have three *cīr*s or four.

Note: *Tūkku* means *īru* (end) and *centūkku* means *āciriya v-īru.*

379. [2]வெண்பா வீற்றடி முச்சீர்த் தாகும்
அசைச்சீர்த் தாகு மவ்வழி யான.

Veṇpā v-īrrati mu-c-cīrt t-ākum
Acai-c-cīrtt-āku mav-vaḻi yāṉ-a.

The last foot of a *veṇpā* has three *cīrs* the last of which is an *acai-c-cīr.*

Note. The two lines are read as separate *sūtras* by *Pērāśiriyar.*

380. நேரீற் றியற்சீர் நிரையு நிரைபும்
சீரேற் றிறூஉ மியற்கைய வெண்பா.

Nēr-īr r-iyar-cīr nirai-y-u niraipum
Cīr-ēr r-irūu m-iyarkaiya v-eṇpa.

They say that the *acai-c-cīr* at the end of *veṇpā* may be *nirai* or *niraipu*, if it is preceded by *nērīrriyarcīr.*

Note: *Acai-c-cīr* is taken here from the previous *sūtra.*

381. நிரையவ ணிற்பி னேரு நேர்பும்
வரைவின் றென்ப வாய்மொழிப் புலவர்.

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1. உணர்ந்தோர் (இளம்.); உணர்வோர் (பேரா.).
2. வெண்பா (இளம்.); வெண் பாட்டு (பேரா.).

Nirai-y-ava nirpi nēru nērpum
Varai-v-in r-enpa vāy-moli-p pulavar.

Scholars noted for their learning say that *nēr* and *nērpu* are not prohibited there *i.e.*, at the end of *venpā*—if it is preceded by *nirai-y-īrriyar-cīr.*

382. எழுசீ ரிறுதி யாசிரியங் கலியே.
Elu-cī r-iruti y-āciriyan kali-y-ē.

The penultimate foot of *kalippā* is of the nature of *āciriyappā* with three *cīrs.*

383. வெண்பா வியலினும் பண்புற முடியும்.
Venpā v-iyalin-um panpura mutiyum.

It may be of the nature of *venpā.*

384. எழுத்து முதலா வீண்டிய வடியின்
குறித்த பொருளை முடிய நாட்டல்
யாப்பென மொழிப யாப்பறி புலவர்.
Eluttu mutal-ā v-īntiya v-atiyin
Kuritta porulai mutiya nāttal
Yāpp-ena molipa yāpp-ari pulavar.

Scholars in Prosody say that *yāppu* is that which is made of the limbs mentioned above from *eluttu* to *ati.*

385. பாட்டுரை நூலே வாய்மொழி பிசியே
அங்கத [1]முதுசொ லவ்வேழ் நிலத்தும்
வண்புகழ் மூவர் தண்பொழில் வரைப்பின்
நாற்பே ரெல்லை யகத்தவர் வழங்கும்
யாப்பின் வழிய தென்மனார் புலவர்.
Pāṭṭurai nūl-ē vāy-moli pici-y-ē
Aṅkata mutu-co l-a v-v-ēḻ nilattum
Van-pukal mūvar tan-polil varaippin
Nār-pē r-ellai y-akattavar valaṅkum
Yāppin valiya t-enmanār pulavar.

They say that the material described by the residents of the fertile land of the famous three (Tamil kings) having four big boundaries in *pāṭṭu, urai, nūl, vāy-moli, pici, aṅkatam* and *mutu-col* is composed in verse form.

Note: The four boundaries mentioned here should be *Vēṅkaṭam* on the north, *Kumari* on the south, Bay of Bengal

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1. முதுசொல் (இளம்.); முதுசொல்லோடு (பேரா.).

on the east and Arabian sea on the west. This is evident from the *Pāyiram* which comes from the mouth of *Paṉampāraṉār*, a class-mate of *Tolkāppiyaṉār*. *Mūvar* evidently refers to *Cēraṉ*, *Cōḻaṉ*, and *Pāṇṭiyaṉ* kings.

386. மரபே தானும்
நாற்சொல் லியலான் யாப்புவழிப் பட்டன்று.[1]
Marapē tāṉ-um
Nāṟ-col l-iyalāṉ yāppu-vaḻi-p paṭṭaṉṟu.

Marapu is the form of verse made up of the four kinds of words.

Note: The four kinds of words may refer to *peyar*, *viṉai*, *iṭai* and *uri* and *iyarcol*, *tiricol*, *ticai-c-col* and *vaṭacol* which have been explained in detail in *Collatikāram*.

387. அகவ லென்ப தாசிரி யம்மே.
Akava l-eṉpa t-āciri yam-m-ē.

The *tūkku* or *ōcai* of *āciriyappā* is, they say, *akaval*.

Note 1: Since *tūkku* follows *marapu* in the first *sūtra* of this chapter, this *sūtra* is taken to deal with it.

Note 2: *Tūkku* may be translated by the word *rhythm*.

388. [2]அஃதன் றென்ப வெண்பா யாப்பே.
A:taṉ ṟ-eṉpa veṇpā yāppē.

They say that it is not the rhythm found in *veṇpā*.

389. துள்ள லோசை கலியென மொழிப.
Tuḷḷa l-ōcai kali-y-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that the rhythm suited to *kalippā* is called *tuḷḷal*,

390. தூங்க லோசை வஞ்சி யாகும்.
Tūṅka l-ōcai vañci y-ākum.

The rhythm suited to *vañci* is called *tūṅkal*

391. மருட்பா வேனை யிருசா ரல்லது
தானிது வென்னுந் தன்மை யின்றே.
Maruṭpā v-ēṉai y-iru-cā r-allatu
Tāṉ-itu v-eṉṉun taṉmai y-iṉṟē.

There is no rhythm peculiar to *maruṭpā* except that it has those belonging to *veṇpā* and *āciriyappā*.

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1. பட்டன்று (இளம்.); பட்டன (பேரா.).
2. அஃதன்று (இளம்.); அஃதான்று (பேரா.).

392. [1]அவ்வியல் பல்லது பாட்டாங்குக் கிளவார்.

A-v-v-iyal p-allatu pāṭṭāṅku-k kiḷavār.

They do nôt compose a verse (pāṭṭu) except with those traits.

393. தூக்கியல் வகையே யாங்கென மொழிப.

Tūkkiyal vakai-y-ē y-āṅk-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that the nature of *tūkku* is the same as is mentioned before.

394. மோனை யெதுகை முரணே யியைபென
நானெறி மரபின தொடைவகை யென்ப.

Mōṉai y-etukai muraṇ-ē y-iyaip-eṉa
Nāṉeṟi marapiṉa toṭai-vakai y-eṉpa.

They say that *toṭai* is traditionally classified into four:— *mōṉai, etukāi, muraṇ* and *iyaipu.*

395. அளபெடை தலைப்பெய வைந்து மாகும்.

Aḷapeṭai talai-p-peya v-aintu m-ākum.

It is of five kinds if *aḷapeṭai* is added to it.

396. பொழிப்பு மொரூஉஞ் செந்தொடை மரபும்
அமைந்தவை தெரியி னவையுமா ருளவே.

Poḻippu m-orūuñ centoṭai marapum
Amaintavai teriyi ṉ-avai-y-um-ā r-uḷa-vē.

In addition to the above, the three kinds of *toṭai-poḻippu, orūu* and *centoṭai* may also be used.

397. நிரனிறுத் தமைத்தலு மிரட்டை யாப்பும்
மொழிந்தவற் றியலான் முற்று மென்ப.

Niraṉiṟut t-amaittal-u m-iraṭṭai yāppum
Moḻintavaṟ ṟ-iyalāṉ muṟṟu m-eṉpa.

Toṭai, they say from literature, may be used at intervals or the same *cīr* may be repeated in a foot. The former is called *niraṉiṟai-t-toṭai* and the latter *iraṭṭai-t-toṭai.*]

Pāṭukō pāṭukō pāṭukō pāṭukō.

Nā-vīṟ ṟ-irunta pulavīrkāḷ pāṭukō is an example for *iraṭṭai-t-toṭai.*

398. அடிதொறுந் தலையெழுத் தொப்பது மோனை.

Aṭi-toṟun talai-y-eḻut t-oppatu mōṉai,

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1. அவ்வியல்பு (இளம்.); அவ்வியல் (பேரா.).

Mōṉai is the alliteration of the initial sounds of the feet of a verse.

EXAMPLE: Mā-v-um puḷḷam vativayiṟ paṭara
Mā-nīr virinta pū-v-uṅ kūmpa.

399. அஃதொழித் தொன்றி னெதுகை யாகும்.
A:.t-oḻit t-oṉṟi ṉ-etukai y-ākum.

Etukai is the alliteration of sounds other than initial ones of the feet of a verse.

EXAMPLE: Aṉpilā r-ellān tamakk-uriya r-aṉpuṭaiyār
Eṉpu-m-uriyar piṟarkku.

400. ஆயிரு தொடைக்குங் கிளையெழுத் துரிய.
Ā-y-iru toṭaikkuṅ kiḷai-y-eḻut t-uriya.

Sounds of the same class also may be used in the above two kinds of *toṭai, i.e.*, in *mōṉai-t-toṭai* and *etukai-t-toṭai.*

Note: *Kiḷai-y-eḻuttu* may refer to the vowels and consonants having the same place of articulation and consonants of the same *iṉam* like *valliṉam, melliṉam*, and *iṭai-y-iṉam.*

401. மொழியினும் பொருளினு முரணுதன் முரணே.
Moḻiyiṉ-um poruḷiṉ-u muraṇutaṉ muraṇ-ē.

Muraṇ is that wherein words having *mōṉai* or *etukai* have different meanings or words having the same meaning without *mōṉai* or *etukai* stand in the corresponding *cīr* of each foot.

Example for *coṉmuraṇ*:
Irumpi ṉ-aṉṉa karuṅkōṭṭu-p puṉṉai
Poṉṉi ṉ-aṉṉa nuṇṭā t-uṟaikkum.
Example for *poruḷ-muraṇ*:
Ciṟai-kākkuṅ kāpp-evaṉ ceyyu makaḷir
Niṟai-kākkuṅ kāppē talai (Kuraḷ 57).

Note: *Pērāśiriyar* says that *muraṇ* is of five kinds: *coṉmuraṇ, poruṇmuraṇ, collum poruḷum collotu muraṇutal, collum poruḷum poruḷoṭu muraṇutal* and *collum poruḷum collotum poruḷoṭum muraṇutal.*

402. இருவா யொப்பினஃ தியைபென மொழிப.
Iṟuvā y-oppiṉ-a:. t-iyaip-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that identity of sounds at the end of each foot in a verse is called *iyaipu.*

EXAMPLE: Maṇṭininta nilaṉum
Nilaṉ-ēntiya vicumpum
Vicumputaivaru vaḷiyam. (Puṟa 2).

403. அளபெழி னவையே யளபெடைத் தொடையே.
Aḷap-eḻi ṉ-avai-y-ē y-aḷapeṭai-t toṭai-y-ē.

If there is *aḷapeṭai* at the corresponding *cīr* of each foot, it is called *aḷapeṭai-t-toṭai.*

EXAMPLE: Ōo v-iṉitē y-emakkinnōy ceyta-kaṇṭu
Āa mitaṟpaṭ ṭatu (Kuṟaḷ 976).

404. ஒருசீ ரிடையிட் டெதுகை யாயின்
பொழிப்பென மொழிதல் புலவ ராறே.
Oru-cī r-iṭai-y-iṭ ṭ-etukai y-āyiṉ
Poḻipp-eṉa moḻital pulava r-āṟē.

It is the practice of scholars to call it *poḻippu* if there is *etukai* in alternate *cīr* of the same foot.

EXAMPLE: Māṇilai makaḷir nāṇiṉar kaḻiya (Puṟa 78, 10)

Note: *Iḷampūraṇar* thinks that the word *etukai* in the *sūtra* is *upalakṣana* to *mōṉai, iyaipu, muraṇ,* and *alapeṭai.*

405. இருசீ ரிடையிடி னொரூஉவென மொழிப.
Iru-cī r-iṭaiyiṭi ṉ-orūu-v-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that, if there is *etukai* in the *cīrs* of the same interrupted by two *cīrs*, it is called *orūū.*

EXAMPLE: *Ciḻ-vaḷai viṟali-y-um yāṉ-um vaḻ-viraintu*
(Puṟa 60)

406. சொல்லிய தொடையொடு வேறுபட் டியலின்
சொல்லியற் புலவரது செந்தொடை யென்ப.
Colliya toṭaiyoṭu vēṟupaṭ ṭ-iyaliṉ
Colliyaṟ pulavaratu centoṭai y-eṉpa.

They say that the *toṭai* which differs from those mentioned above is called *centoṭāi* composed by scholars with ordinary words.

EXAMPLE: Kaṭun-tēr kuḻitta ñeḷḷa lāṅkaṇ
Veḷvāy-k kaḻutai-p pulliṉam pūṭṭi (Puṟa 15).

407. மெய்பெறு மரபிற் றொடைவகை தாமே
ஐயீ ராயிரத் தாறைஞ் ஞூற்றொடு
தொண்டுதலை யிட்ட பத்துக்குறை யெழுநூற்
றொன்பஃ தென்ப வுணர்ந்திசி னோரே.

Mey-peṟu marapiṟ ṟoṭai-vakai tām-ē
Ai-y-ī r-āyirat t-āṟaiñ ñūṟṟoṭu
Toṇṭu-talai y-iṭṭa pattu-k-kuṟai y-eḻunūṟ
Ṟoṉpa.˙.t-eṉpa v-uṇarntici ṉōr-ē.

Experienced scholars say that *toṭai*, as is found in literature, is of 13699 kinds.

Note 1: *Iḷampūraṇar* mathematically arrives at the following results:—

Mōṉai-t-toṭai 1019, *etukai-t-toṭai* 2473, *muraṇṭoṭai* 2, *Iyaipu-t-toṭai* 182, *Aḷapeṭai-t-toṭai* 159, *Poḻippu-t-toṭai* 654, *Orūut-toṭai* 654, *centoṭai* 8556.

Note 2: Taking *toṇṭu* to mean nine, *Pērāśiriyar* gives the number 13708 (13699+9).

Note 3: Bhavanandam Pillai's edition says in the foot notes that *Uraiyāciriyar* reads *eḻu-nūṟṟoṉṟu* but in *Iḷampūraṇam* edition it is not so found. It further says that *Naccinārkkiṉiyar's* number is 6291.

408. தெரிந்தனர் விரிப்பின் வரம்பில வாகும்.[1]
Terintaṉar virippiṉ varampila v-ākum.

It will become endless if scholars *well versed* in literature begin to divide it further.

409. [2]தொடைநிலை வகையே யாங்கென மொழிப.
Toṭai-nilai vakai-y-ē y-āṅk-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that the classification of *toṭai* is of the sort mentioned above.

Note: I am not able to see clearly the need for this *sūtra*. What is *nōkkū*?

410. மாத்திரை முதலா வடிநிலை காறும்
நோக்குதற் காரண நோக்கெனப் படுமே.
Māttirai mutal-ā v-aṭinilai kāṟum
Nōkkutaṟ kāraṇa nōkk-eṉa-p paṭum-ē.

The grace from *māttirai* to foot which arrests the attention of the reader is called *nōkkū*.

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1. ஆகும் (இளம்.); பஃகும் (பேரா.).
2. தொடைநிலைவகையே (இளம்.); தொடைவகைநிலையே (பேரா.).

Note 1: It is the *nōkkŭ* that distinguishes a ***poetic verse*** from a *versified prose.*

Note 2: *Iḷampūraṇar* classsifies ***nōkkŭ*** into ***oru-nōkkŭ pala-nōkkŭ*** and ***iṭai-y-iṭṭa nōkkŭ.***

How is *pā* classified?

411. ஆசிரியம் வஞ்சி வெண்பாக் கலியென
நாலியற் றென்ப பாவகை விரியே.
Āciriyam vañci veṇpā-k kali-y-eṉa
Nāl-iyaṟ ṟ-eṉpa pā-vakai viriyē.

They say that *pā* is classified into four kinds: *āciriyam, vañci, veṇpā,* and *kali,*

412. அந்நிலை மருங்கி னறமுத லாகிய
மும்முதற் பொருட்கு முரிய வென்ப.
A-n-nilai maruṅki ṉ-aṟa-muta l-ākiya,
Mu-m-mutaṟ poruṭku m-uriya v-eṉpa.

They say that all the four kinds of verses are used, when the three objects of human pursuit *aṟam, poruḷ,* and *iṉpam* are described.

413. பாவிரி மருங்கினைப் பண்புறத் தொகுப்பின்
ஆசிரி யப்பா வெண்பா வென்றாங்கு
ஆயிரு பாவினு ளடங்கு மென்ப.
Pā-viri maruṅkiṉai-p paṇp-uṟa-t tokuppiṉ
Āciri ya-p-pā veṇpā v-eṉṟāṅkŭ
Ā-y-iru pāviṉu ḷ-aṭaṅku m-eṉpa.

If the four kinds of *pā* are properly compressed, they may come under the two-*āciriyappā* and *veṇpā.*

414. ஆசிரிய நடைத்தே வஞ்சி யேனை
வெண்பா நடைத்தே கலியென மொழிப.
Āciriya naṭaitt-ē vañci y-ēṉai
Veṇpā naṭaitt-ē kali-y-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that *vañci* falls under *āciriyap-pā* and *kali* under the other kind, *veṇpā.*

415. வாழ்த்தியல் வகையே நாற்பாக்கு முரித்தே.
Vāḻttiyal vakai-y-ē nāṟ-pākku m-uritt-ē.

Stanzas paying homage to Gods and the Great may be composed in all the four kinds of verses.

Note: *Pērāśiriyar* says that the objects to which homage is paid are (1) God, (2) sages, (3) cow, (4) brahmans, (5) kings, (6) rain and (7) country.

416\. வழிபடு தெய்வ நிற்புறங் காப்பப்
பழிதீர் செல்வமொடு வழிவழி சிறந்து
பொலிமி னென்னும் புறநிலை வாழ்த்தே
கலிநிலை வகையும் வஞ்சியும் பெறாஅ.

Vaḻi-paṭu teyva niṟ-puṟaṅ kāppa-p
Paḻi-tīr celvamoṭu vaḻi-vaḻi ciṟantù
Polimi ṉ-eṉṉum puṟa-nilai vāḻtt-ē
Kali-nilai vakai-y-um vañci-y-um peṟāa.

The *puṟanilai vāḻttù* of the type 'May you prosper for generations to come with spotless fortune, you being protected by your family deity' is not composed either in *kali* or *vañci.*

417\. வாயுறை வாழ்த்தே யவையடக் கியலே
செவியறி வுறூஉவென வவையு மன்ன.

Vāyuṟai vāḻtt-ē y-avai-y-aṭak k-iyal-ē
Cevi-y-aṟi v-uṟūu-v-eṉa v-avai-y-u m-aṉṉa.

Vāyuṟai-vāḻttù, avai-y-aṭakkù and *cevi-y-aṟi-v-uṟūu* are of the same nature, *i.e.,* they are not composed in *kalippā* or *vañcippā.*

What is *vāyuṟai-vāḻttù?*

418\. வாயுறை வாழ்த்தே வயங்க நாடின்
வேம்புங் கடுவும் போல வெஞ்சொல்
தாங்குத லின்றி வழிநனி பயக்கு மென்று
ஓம்படைக் கிளவியின் வாயுறுத் தற்றே.

Vāy-uṟai vāḻtt-ē vayaṅka nāṭiṉ
Vēmpuṅ kaṭu-v-um pōla veñ-col
Tāṅkuta l-iṉṟi vaḻi-naṉi payakkum-eṉṟù
Ōmpaṭai-k kiḷaviyiṉ vāy-uṟa-t t-aṟṟē.

Vāy-uṟai-vāḻttù is, on close examination, the thrusting of salutary advice without avoiding harsh words like the administering of bitter and pungent medicine.

What is *avai-y-aṭakkù?*

419\. அவையடக் கியலே யரிறபத் தெரியின்
வல்லா கூறினும் வகுத்தனர் கொண்மினென்று
எல்லா மாந்தர்க்கும் வழிமொழிந் தன்றே.

Avai-y-āṭak k-iyal-ē y-ariṟapa-t teriyiṉ
Vallā kūṟiṉum vakuttaṉar koṇmiṉ-eṉṟù
Ellā māntarkkum vaḻi-moḻin t-aṉṟ-e.

Avai-y-aṭakkù is, if well examined, one's modest expression to all to discriminate what is good in his unworthy sayings and take it.

What is *cevi-y-aṟi-v-uṟūu?*

420. செவியுறை தானே
பொங்குத லின்றிப் புரையோர் நாப்பண்
அவிதல் கடனெனச் செவியுறுத் தன்றே.
Cevi-y-uṟai tāṉ-ē
Poṅkuta l-iṉṟi-p puraiyōr nāppaṇ
Avital kaṭaṉ-eṉa-c cevi-y-uṟut t-aṉṟ-ē.

Cevi-y-uṟai is that which is brought to the ear of one who stands in submission without assuming superior airs in the midst of learned men.

421. ஒத்தா ழிசையு மண்டில யாப்பும்
குட்டமு நேரடிக் கொட்டின வென்ப.
Ottā ḻ-icai-y-u maṇṭila yāppum
Kaṭṭam-u nēr-aṭik k-oṭṭiṉa v-eṉpa.

They say that *ottāḻicai,* a limb of *kalippā, maṇṭila-yāppu* of *āciriyappā* and *kuṭṭam,* another limb of *kalippā* have their feet consisting of four *cīrs.*

Note 1: *Kuṭṭam* and *taravu* are synonyms.

Note 2: *Pērāśiriyar* takes that this holds good to *kuṭṭam* in *ottāḻ-icai-k-kali* and *maṇṭila-yāppu.* But he himself states under the *sūtra* 114 that *three* are mentioned here.

422. குட்ட மெருத்தடி யுடைத்து மாகும்.
Kuṭṭa m-eruttaṭi y-uṭaittu m-ākum.

Kuṭṭam may have its penultimate foot (having three *cīrs*).

Note 1: The above is the meaning of *Iḷampūraṇar. Pērāciriyar's* meaning is 'that *kuṭṭam* may come in the penultimate foot also.

423. மண்டிலங் குட்ட மென்றிவை யிரண்டும்
செந்தூக் கியல வென்மனார் புலவர்.
Maṇṭilaṅ kuṭṭa m-eṉṟivai y-iraṇṭum
Centūk k-iyala v-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that the above mentioned two *maṇṭilam* and *kuṭṭam* are of the nature of *centūkku* i.e. they have *akaval-ōcai.*

Note: *Centūkku* is an *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* and is synonymous with *āciriyappā.*

424. நெடுவெண் பாட்டே குறுவெண் பாட்டே
கைக்கிளை பரிபாட் டங்கதச் செய்யுளோடு
ஒத்தவை யெல்லாம் வெண்பா யாப்பின.
Neṭu-veṇ pāṭṭ-ē kuṟu-veṇ pāṭṭ-ē
Kaikkiḷai paripāṭ ṭ-aṅkata-c ceyyuḷōṭu
Ottavai y-ellām veṇpā yāppiṉa.

Neṭu-veṇpāṭṭu, *kuṟu-veṇpāṭṭu*, *kaikkiḷai*, *paripāṭṭu*, and *aṅkatam* have the *yāppu* of *Veṇpā*.

425. கைக்கிளை தானே வெண்பா வாகி
ஆசிரிய வியலான் முடியவும் பெறுமே.
Kaikkiḷai tāṉ-ē veṇpā v-āki
Āciriya v-iyalāṉ muṭiyavum peṟum-ē.

Kaikkiḷai may have the first two feet like *veṇpā* and the last two feet like *āciriyappā*.

Note: Such a stanza is called *maruṭpā*.

426. பரிபா டல்லே தொகைநிலை வகையின்
இதுபா வென்னு மியனெறி யின்றிப்
பொதுவாய் நிற்றற்கு முரித்தென மொழிப.
Paripā ṭal-l-ē tokai-nilai vakaiyiṉ
Itu-pā v-eṉṉu m-iyaṉeṟi y-iṉṟi-p
Potuvāy niṟṟaṟku m-uritt-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that *paripāṭal* has no metre of its own, but may be composed in all metres.

427. கொச்சக மராகஞ் சுரிதக மெருத்தொடு
செப்பிய நான்குந் தனக்குறுப் பாகக்
காமங் கண்ணிய நிலைமைத் தாகும்.
Koccaka m-arākañ curitaka m-eruttoṭu
Ceppiya nāṉkun-taṉakuṟup p-āka-k
Kāmaṅ kaṇṇiya nilaimait t-ākum.

Paripāṭal has the following four limbs: *Koccakam*, *arākam*, *curitakam*, and *eruttu*.

Note: *Paripāṭal* is taken here from the previous *sūtra*.

428. சொற்சீ ரடியு முடுகிய லடியும்
அப்பா நிலைமைக் குரிய வாகும்.
Coṟ-cī r-aṭi-y-u muṭukiya l-aṭi-y-um
A-p-pā nilaimai-k k-uriya v-ākum.

Paripāṭal may have *coṟ-cīr-aṭi* and *muṭukiyal-aṭi*.

समानविद्येभ्य इति। यो यत्समानविद्यः स तं विशेषेण जानातीति। **शिल्पं शास्त्रमेव चक्षुष्मत्तां** प्रज्ञां च गुणद्वयं परीक्षेत आगमयेत्। **कर्मारम्भेष्विति।** कर्मणां दुर्गादीनाम् आरम्भेषु आरम्भविकल्पेषु। **प्रज्ञां धारयिष्णुताम्** इदं कर्तव्यमित्यनुस्मरणम्। **दाक्ष्यं** मनसः सत्त्वम् अश्रान्तत्वं परीक्षेत अनुमिनुयात्। T. 46. **कथायोगेष्विति** कथाप्रयोगेषु **वाग्मित्वं प्रागल्भ्यम्।** प्रतिभैव प्रतिभानं तद्वतो भावः **प्रतिभानवत्त्वं** प्रतिपत्तिमत्त्वमित्यर्थः। **अनुभवादेव** परीक्षेत न तर्कागमाभ्याम्। **आपद्युत्साहप्रभावाविति।** यो यस्यामापदि न विषीदति न मन्दप्रभावः क्लेशांश्च सहते सोऽन्यदापि कर्मण्य इति परीक्षेत अनुमिनुयात्। **संव्यवहारादिति।** लोकेन सह पौनःपुन्येन सम्यग् व्यवहृतिः तस्माच्छौचादीन् परीक्षेत। यथा नार्थशीलो न द्वेष्टि दृढस्नेहत्वादस्मान् कार्येष्वायस्य तथा अस्यैते गुणा नित्या इति तर्कयेदित्यर्थः। **सहवासिभ्य इति।** सह वासो येषां तेभ्य इति। **शीलबलारोग्यसत्त्वयोगम् अस्तम्भम् अचापलं** च परीक्षेतागमयेत्। **प्रत्यक्षत** इति स्वानुभावत एवेति। **सम्प्रियत्वम् अवैरित्वं** च परीक्षेत॥

ननु जनपदशिल्पशीलादीन् आगमतः, प्रज्ञोत्साहशौचादीन् अनुमानेन च, वादित्वसंप्रियतादीन् प्रत्यक्षतः परीक्षेतेति कथं प्रमाणत्रयोपदेश इति चेत्। यस्मात् **प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षानुमेया राजवृत्तिरिति।** सा राजवृत्तिः प्रत्यक्षानुमानादि नातिक्रामति। मन्त्रिपुरोहितसखः अमात्यान् शोधयेदित्यादि प्रत्यक्षा, तपस्विनां तु कार्याणि धर्मस्थीयैरिति परोक्षा, यश्चैषां यथोद्दिष्टमर्थं सविशेषं वा कुर्यात् सोऽन्यदापीत्यनुमेया। तत्रेति प्रत्यक्षादिषु। **स्वयं दृष्टम्** आत्मीयैरक्षैर्विषयीकृतं प्रत्यक्षम्। ननु च विषयाकारप्राधान्येन तद्वस्तु। सत्यम्, एवं विज्ञानपरिच्छेद्यत्वाद् वस्त्वपि प्रत्यक्षम्। सर्वत्र च वस्तुप्रधानो निर्देशः प्रत्यक्षाद्याभासनिरासार्थः। **परोपदिष्टमिति** परैरविसंवादकैरुपदिष्टं वचनेन संज्ञया वा। **परोक्षं** परप्रत्यक्षम् आप्तोपदेश इत्यर्थः। वक्ष्यति च—"त्रयाणामेकवाक्यत्वे सम्प्रत्ययः" (अधि. १. अध्या. १२.) इति। **कर्मस्विति** दुर्गादिकेषु कृतेषु कर्तव्येषु वा **कृतेन** उपलब्धेन **अकृतस्यावेक्षणमा**लोचनम**नुमेयं** करिष्यत्ययमिदं कर्म शक्तिमत्त्वाद् यथेदं कृतवानिमि। यद्येवमकृतावेक्षणमनुमानं किमुच्यतेऽनुमेयमिति। नैष दोषः। वाक्यैकदेशव्याहारात्। अकृतावेक्षणं यत्र तदनुमेयमिति वस्तूपादाने प्रयोजनमव्यभिचारिणि नियमार्थम्। **यौगपद्यात्तु कर्मणामिति।** अनेकं कर्म, अनेकस्थमनेकदेशस्थं न स्वयं युगपदनुष्ठातुं शक्यते।

यत्त्वेकदेशस्थम् ऊर्णावर्मकर्मेत्यादि तद्युगपच्छक्येत क्रमेण चानकदेशस्थमपि यथा—पूर्वमहर्भागं हस्त्यादिषु विनीयेत पश्चिममितिहासश्रवण इति। तत्र युगपदनेकदेशस्थं च हेमन्ते स्वदेशे दुर्गकर्म परदेशे यात्रा स्वबलप्रायस्येति। इत्येवंविधस्य स्वयंकरणे देशकालात्ययो मा भूदिति परोक्षममात्यैरिति। प्रकरणान्मन्त्रिभिः कर्म कारयेत्। इत्यमात्यकर्मेति। एवंजातीयकममात्यकर्म, स्वयमनुष्ठानायोग्यत्वात्॥

यथाऽमात्येभ्योऽधिका मन्त्रिणस्तथा मन्त्रिभ्यः पुरोहितोऽधिक इति गुणान्तराधिक्यं दर्शयन्नाह—पुरोहितमित्यादि। पुरो धीयते नियुज्यते दृष्टादृष्टेष्विति पुरोहितः। "दधातेर्हिः" (७·४-४२)। कीदृशं कुर्वीतेत्याह—उदितोदितकुलशीलमिति। चतुर्विधाः पुरुषाः, येषाम् आ चतुर्थाद् आ सप्तमाद्वा वृत्ताभिजनसम्पन्नाः पूर्वे नापरे ते उदितास्तमिताः। विपर्यये त्वस्तमितोदिताः। येषां न पूर्वे नापरे तेऽस्तमितास्तमिताः। येषां पूर्वे चापरे च वृत्ताभिजनसम्पन्नास्ते उदितोदितकुलशीला इति। तमेवंविधम्। साङ्गे प्रसङ्गे षडङ्गवेद इति प्रकरणादथर्वणे। दैवे निमित्ते दैवान्तरिक्षभौमशाकुनादौ। दण्डनीत्याम्। T. 47. चाभिविनीतम् आभिमुख्येन शिक्षितम्। दैवीनाम् अग्न्युदकादीनाम्। मानुषीणां च दूष्यादिसंयुक्तानाम् (आपदाम्) यथाक्रमम् अथर्वभिरथर्वविहितैः प्रयोगैः, उपायैश्च सामादिभिः। M. 16. प्रतिकर्तारं प्रतिविधातारं कुर्वीत। स चाननुवर्तितो नाकार्यकारीत्याह—शिष्य इव पूजया। पितरमिव स्निह्यन्तम् पुत्र इवानुकूल्येन। स्वामिनो योगक्षेमसाधनपरं भृत्य इवानुजीविवृत्तेन अनुवर्तेत। इवशब्दः षड्भिरेव संबन्धनीयः॥

मन्त्रिपुरोहितयोरन्योन्यापेक्षितां दर्शयन्नाह—ब्राह्मणेनेति। ब्राह्मणेन पुरोहितेन। एधितं क्षत्रमिति जातिकर्मोपलक्षणम्। मन्त्रिण इति मन्त्रिणो यो(ग ?)मन्त्रः मन्त्राधिकारोत्पन्नः, तेन अभिमन्त्रितम् आभिमुख्येनोत्पादितनिश्चयम्। जयत्यजितमत्यन्तम्। ननु च लाभत्रैविध्ये नवस्य अजितत्वं न पित्र्यभूतपूर्वयोरिति तयोः परिपालनलक्षणो जयस्त्यक्तो भवति। नायं दोषः। नैवमुच्यते यदजितं तदेव जीयत इति। किन्तु जयत्यन्यदप्यजितमिति। अथवा (न) क्षत्रं तत्र कदाचिद्विपक्षेण जीयते जयति च, किं तर्ह्यजितमेवेति। यथाहुः—

विजयन्तेऽथ जीयन्ते प्रायेणेह जिगीषवः ।
कौरव्यस्तु जयत्येव कैश्चिदप्यपराजितः ॥

इति । शास्त्रमनुगच्छतीति शास्त्रानुगम् अथर्ववेदण्डनीत्यनुगामि । अशस्त्रितम् । शस्त्रं करोत्यभ्यस्यतीति शस्त्रितम् । अतथाभूतमशस्त्रितम् । अयुध्यमानमभिमन्त्रितयुद्धेन जयति । जयति निराबाधमित्यर्थः ॥

इति मन्त्रिपुरोहितोत्पत्तिः षष्ठं प्रकरणम्
नवमश्चाध्यायः ॥

अथ दशमोऽध्यायः

एवं मन्त्रिपुरोहितावुत्पाद्य तयोः सुखेन विशिष्टविनियोगार्थम् उपधाभिः शौचाशौच(ज्ञान)ममात्यानामुच्यते । भावपरीक्षार्थमुपधीयन्ते युज्यन्ते स्फटिकं रक्तद्रव्यरागोपधानैरिव आभिरित्युपधाः, धर्माद्यालम्बना उपजापक्रियाः । ताभिरमात्यानां शौचाशौच(ज्ञान)मिति । मन्त्रिपुरोहितसख इति । मन्त्रिपुरोहितयोः सखेति षष्ठीसमासेन आत्मनोऽपि तयोराधिक्यमाह । अन्यथा तौ सखायावस्येति मन्त्रिपुरोहितसखा इति स्यात् । "राजाहस्सखिभ्यष्टच्" (५-४-९१) इति तत्पुरुषसमासान्तस्य विहितत्वात् । अत एव तद्व्यतिरिक्तामात्यशुद्ध्यर्थमिदं प्रकरणम् ॥

तौ च पित्र्यौ भूतपूर्वौ वा नवावपि सहोत्थायिनावात्मवदेव ज्ञातशौचसामर्थ्यौ । तत्रैतत्स्याद् अन्येऽप्यस्य पित्र्यभूतपूर्वाः सहोत्थायिनो वा स्युः किं परीक्षयेति । न न सन्ति, न च सर्वे परीक्ष्या इति ब्रूमः । किन्तु सत्स्वपि पूर्वेषु ये नवाश्रिताः ये न विज्ञातशौचाः, ते विनियोगविशेषार्थं परीक्ष्यन्ते । अत्र च सहायातिशयख्यापनार्थं तयोरुपादानम् । अन्यथा मन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतिसख इति वक्तव्यं स्यात्, सेनापतेरप्युपधाङ्गत्वात् । अत्र चोपधाङ्गत्वात् प्राङ् मन्त्रिणो निर्देश्याः, तेष्वसत्सु कैरुपदध्यादिति । नायं दोषः । न वचनक्रमापेक्षया अनुष्ठानप्रतिपत्तिः, किन्तु सामर्थ्यापेक्षयैव । न हि 'भुङ्क्ष्व पच्यताम्' इत्युक्ते पच्यतामित्यनुक्त्वा कथं भुङ्क्ष्वेत्युक्तमिति चोद्यं भवति । तथाऽप्ययमाचार्यः प्राधान्यादमात्योत्पत्तिं तत्सद्भावाच्च तत्परीक्षां प्रागाह । सामान्येष्वधिकरणेषु धर्मार्थव्यवहारस्थानेषु प्राक्छौचाशौचज्ञानादविभक्तयथार्हकर्तृषु । अथवा सामान्येषु लघुषु कुप्याद्ध्यक्षादिषु कर्मसु यत्र स्तोकमति-

पत्यते । अमात्यान् स्थापयित्वा विनियोज्य । उपधाभिः शोधयेत् परीक्षेत, पुरोहितेन सेनापतिना स्वयं च महिषीव्यपदेशेन ॥

तत्र पुरोहितमिति । अयाज्यस्य अयजनार्हस्य, याजनेऽध्यापने च । अमुं शूद्रापुत्रं याजय अध्यापयेति नियुक्तम् । तेन सह कृतसंवित्कत्वाद् अमृष्यमाणम् अक्षममाणं कथमयमेवं करोतीति । रजावक्षिपेत् प्रत्ययार्थमवरोपितार्थमानं निर्भर्त्सयेत् । स सत्रिभिरिति । सोऽवक्षिप्तः सत्रिभिर्वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणैः प्रयोज्यैः । शपथपूर्वं स्वयं शपथं कृत्वा विश्वासार्थंतां च कारयित्वा । राज्ञो भिन्नोऽयमिति ख्यापनार्थम् । एकैकं स्वाशयाविष्करणार्थम् उपजापयेत् भेदयेत् । किमित्याह—अधार्मिकोऽयमिति । धर्मेण चरति यः स तद्विपरीतः, येन मामप्ययाज्ययाजनादौ नियुङ्क्ते । तस्मात् साधुधार्मिकं साधुं धार्मिकं चेति । क्रियाविशेषणं वा साधु शोभनं प्रतिपादयाम इति । अन्यमस्य भ्रातरं पुत्रं वा । बन्धुविनाशानुशयात् ततो भवेत् प्रेक्षा चेत् तत्कुलीनं तत्कुलापत्यम् । तस्मादपि चेदाशङ्का ततोऽवरुद्धं निर्धारितम् । स ह्यासन्नत्वात् स्निग्धतरो भवति । सोऽपि कृतार्थः पित्र्यापकारं स्मरिष्यतीति कुप्येत्, कञ्चित् कुलीनं तं चैकप्रग्रहम् । राज्ञा सहैकपूजमित्यर्थः । स हि प्रजानुमतो भवति । निराश्रयोऽसाविति चेत् सामन्तम् । प्रति वैतस्माचेत् पूर्ववासनया स्वप्रवृत्त्यवग्रहाशङ्का आटविकं राजसधर्माणम् । तस्माच्चेदनार्यपरिवाराशङ्का उपपादकम् । अकस्मादुत्पत्तिशीलम् अराजबीजिनमित्यर्थः । चन्द्रगुप्तप्रकारसाधुधार्मिकमिति सर्वत्र योज्यम् । प्रतिपादयामः किमित्यर्थाद् राज्यमिति गम्यते । तत्राप्रतिपत्तिमनर्थभयापेक्षां निरसितुमाह—सर्वेषामेतद्रोचते कथं वा (भव ? तवे)त्यभिप्रायप्रश्नः । प्रत्याख्याने तु शुचिरिति । स चेद्विमृश्यकारी यद्यपि पुरोहितस्येदं मतं तथापि विचार्यम् । अवक्षिप्तत्वाद्धर्षेणायं वदति स्वधर्मं तावदपेक्षे अधार्मिकोऽस्तु मा वा राजा किं ममात्र । स्वाम्यनभिद्रोहो मे धर्मः । तथा चाहुः—

> ब्रह्मद्रुहां च ये लोका गुरुपुत्रद्रुहाश्च ये ।
> पतिद्रुहां च ये स्त्रीणां ते समस्ता नृपद्रुहाम् ॥

इति । नैवमिति प्रत्याख्याने याथातथ्यपरिज्ञानाच्छुचिरितीयं परीक्षा धर्मोपधा ॥

सेनापतिरित्यादि । अमुं दासीपुत्रं सत्कारेण पूजयेति राज्ञा उक्तः, स तेनासत्प्रग्रहेण असतः पूजया अमृष्यमा(णो ? णेन) रा(जा ? ज्ञा) कृतसंवित्केन अवक्षिप्तः अवरोपिततदर्थमानः सत्रिभिरेकैकमुपजपेत् ।

सेनापत्यायत्तत्वादर्थस्येति। भूमिकोशहस्त्यादिना **अर्थेन राजविनाशाय** राजविनाशार्थमुपजपेत्। **सर्वेषामेतद्रोचते कथं वा तवेति**। तत्रेदृशोऽर्थः धर्मादिविरोधी न न्याय्य इति **प्रत्याख्याने शुचिरि**तीयं परीक्षा **अर्थोपधा**॥

परिव्राजिकेति। वक्ष्यमाणगुणा परिव्राजिका **लब्धविश्वासा** श्रद्धेया। **अन्तःपुरे** कृतसत्कारत्वादनिवार्यप्रवेशा। **महामात्रं** महती मात्रा यस्येति तम्। **एकैकमुपजपेत्**। **राजमहिषी** नान्या काचित् **त्वां कामयते**। कश्चिदशक्यत्वात् प्रत्याचक्षीतेत्याह—**कृतसमागमोपाया** वर्षवराद्यरूपग्रहणात्। **महानर्थश्च ते भविष्यतीति**। नन्वर्थोपधापीयं कुतो निर्णयः। एवं तर्हि महान् कामप्राप्त्यैव पुरुषार्थस्ते भविता। यथाहुः—

धर्मार्थयोः फलं कामः कामः स्त्रीभोगमुख्यकः।
स्त्रीषु रूपवती श्रेष्ठा सुरूपासु सयौवना॥

इति। अथवा महाननर्थो महानर्थः अनङ्गीकरणे तत्क्रोधाद्भवितेति। अगम्या हि राजदारा इति काम्याकाम्यपरिज्ञानात् प्रत्याख्याने शुचिरितीयं परीक्षा **कामोपधा**॥

M. 17. **प्रहवणनिमित्तमिति**। प्रहूयन्ते हूयन्तेऽस्मिन् स्वजनमित्राणीति प्रहवणम् उद्वाहादिरुत्सवः, तन्निमित्तम्। **एकोऽमात्यः** प्रधानमन्त्रीत्यर्थः। स राज्ञा कृतसंवित्कः **सर्वानमात्यान्** स्वगृहेऽन्यगृहे वा **आवाहयेत्** मेलयेत्। **तेनोद्वेगेनेति** तेषामेकत्र मेलनात् तेन भयेन। **राजा** मदपचिकीर्षया हि यूयं संहताः तिष्ठत तावद् विचारयामीति **तानवरुन्ध्यात्** पृथक् सह वा। **कापटिकश्च** वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणस्तत्रास्मिन्नवरोधस्थाने दूतादिव्यपदेशेन **पूर्वावरुद्धः**। **तेषां** मध्येऽ**र्थमानावक्षिप्तम्** अर्थमानाभ्यां च्यावितम् T. 50. **एकैकमुपजपेत्**। **असत्प्रवृत्तोऽयम्**। असदशोभनं प्रवृत्तमस्येति येनादुष्टमानसमप्येवं कृतवान्। **अत एनं हत्वाऽन्यं प्रतिपादयामः सर्वेषामेतद् रोचते कथं वा तवेति**। यद्येवं स्यात् किं न्विदमेवमेव, अथवा अयमपरागाद् ब्रवीतीति, अथवा अलं चिन्तया सर्वथा निर्दोषोऽस्मि सर्वथा निष्प्रतिकारमस्मद्भयमिति **प्रत्याख्याने शुचिरि**तीयं परीक्षा **भयोपधा**॥

परिशुद्धानां नियोगमाह—**तत्रेति**। धर्मादिशुद्धेषु (ये) **धर्मोपधाशुद्धास्तान् धर्मस्थीयकण्टकशोधनेषु** धर्मप्रधानेषु **स्थापयेत्**। **अर्थोपधाशुद्धान्** समाहर्त्रादिकर्मस्वर्थप्रधानेषु। **कामोपधाशुद्धान् बाह्याभ्यन्तरविहाररक्षासु**।

विहरन्त्यस्मिन्निति विहारः। तत्र बाह्यो विहार उपवनं बाह्यस्त्रीणां राजोपभोग्यानां वारविलासिनीनाम्। आभ्यन्तरो विहारो राज्ञीनाम्। तद्रक्षासु स्थापयेत्। भयोपधाशुद्धानात्मासन्नकार्येषु। सर्वोपधाशुद्धान् मन्त्रिणः कुर्यात्। सर्वकर्मणां तदायत्तत्वात्। मन्त्रिपरिषदत्रैवान्तर्भूता। सर्वत्राशुचीन् धर्मादिष्वशुद्धान् खनिद्रव्यहस्तिवनकर्मान्तेषु उपयोजयेत्। (नाविकान् ?) किन्तूपयोजयेदन्यैरधिकृतैः सह कारयेत्॥

अत्र सम्यङ्मतपरिग्रहार्थमाह—त्रिवर्गभयसंशुद्धाविति। त्रिवर्गे भये च सम्यक् शुद्धान् स्वेषु कर्मस्वधिकुर्यात्। यथाशौचमिति। यस्य यत्र शौचं तं तत्राधिकुर्यात्। इत्याचार्या व्यवस्थिताः विशेषेण स्थिताः। नास्माभिस्ततोऽपनीयन्ते॥

T. 51. किन्तु न त्वेव कुर्यात् न कथञ्चित् कुर्यात्। आत्मानं देवीं हत्वाऽन्यं प्रतिपादयामः, त्वां कामयत इति। लक्ष्यमधिष्ठानम्। ईश्वरो-लब्धैश्वर्यो राजा। शौचहेतोरमात्यानाम्। प्रधानदोषापाये(न ?) इतरगुणानामुपायत्वं न युक्तमिति॥

को दोष इति चेदाह—(न)दूषणमिति। परीक्षणात् प्रागदुष्टस्य अज्ञातदोषस्य अनेनासता अधर्मेण अम्भस इवादुष्टस्य विषेण दूषणं न युक्तमित्यर्थः। तद्दूषणमधिष्ठाने चरेद् व्याप्नुयादित्यर्थः। पुरोहितादिभिर्दूषयित्वान्यैः नैवं युक्तमिति शोधयेदिति चेदाह—कदाचिद्धि प्रदुष्टस्य नाधिगम्येत भेषजम्। अनैकान्तिकत्वात् प्रतीकारस्य। अथवा न कदाचिदप्यधिगम्येत भेषजम्।

यथाहुः—

पायसेन सकृद्दग्धो बालो दध्यपि शङ्कते।
मायिताश्वासिता वाऽपि न विश्वसिति कर्हिचित्॥

इति॥

अयं चापरो दोष इत्याह—कृता चेति। कलुषीकृता बुद्धिरुपधाचातुर्विध्याच्चतुर्विधा। तेन वान्येन वोपायेन अगत्वान्तं राजानमविनाश्य देवीं वा नाधिगम्य न निवर्तेत। सत्त्ववतामारब्धकार्यावसायिनाम्। धृतौ अपि च शङ्का स्थिता सती॥

M. 18. तस्मादेतद्दोषपरिहारार्थमाहाभिप्रायसिद्धये च—तस्मादिति। बाह्ये लक्ष्यं कृत्वा देवस्थानादिसंस्कारे तद्द्रव्ये वा तद्द्रव्ययोगे वेश्यायोजने

तुच्छतरापकारभायने च कार्ये चतुर्विधेऽपि । शौचाशौचं मार्गेत अन्वेषयेत् । न ह्येकत्र शुद्धोऽन्यत्राशुचिः स्वामिनो भीरवश्चेति । राजा मन्त्रिपुरोहितसखः एको वा यथायोगं मार्गेत । सत्रिभिरिति गूढपुरुषोपलक्षणं कापटिकपरिव्राजकयोरपि ग्रहणम् ॥

इति शौचाशौचममात्यानां सप्तमं प्रकरणम् ।

दशमश्चाध्यायः ॥

अथैकादशोऽध्यायः

T. 52. अमात्यवर्गान्तर्भूतत्वात् गूढानामेव पुरुषाणाम् आमात्यशौचाशौचानन्तरं तद्विशेषगूढपुरुषोत्पत्तिरध्यायद्वयेनोच्यते । उपाधिभिरित्यादि । **शुद्धोऽमात्यवर्गो** यस्य स राजा **गूढपुरुषान्** गूढप्रयोगान् पुरुषान् **उत्पादयेत्** रचयेत् । जातिशब्दत्वात् भिक्षुकान्तर्भावः । तत्र कापटिकादयः पञ्च संस्थासंज्ञाः, सत्र्यादयश्चत्वारः सञ्चारसंज्ञाः, द्वैराश्येन स्थिताः । तत्र पूर्वेषां लक्षणानि कर्माणि चास्मिन्नध्याये दर्शयन्नाह—**परमर्मज्ञ** इति । परेषां मर्माणि स्थानानि यानि तानि जानातीति तथा । तैर्हि परानुपतापयति । **प्रगल्भो** (दृ? धृ)ष्टः प्रत्यादेशसमर्थः । **छात्रः** निस्सङ्गत्वादुपतापनभयानिरपेक्षः, स सर्वत्र मित्रायमाणः कपटेन चरतीति कापटिकः । **तमर्थमानाभ्यामुत्साह्येति** । अर्थप्रदानेन पूजया च जनितोत्साहं मन्त्री **ब्रूयात्**—राजानं मां च प्रमाणीकृत्य अवधिं कृत्वा **यस्य यदकुशलं** कि(ल्बिद्दि? ल्बि)षं **पश्यसि** तत्तदानीमेव कालमहापयन् **प्रत्यादिश** अस्मासु प्रकाशयेति । स तथा कुर्यादित्यर्थोक्तमेतत्कर्म ॥

प्रव्रज्याया इति । परिव्राजकभावाच्छ्रमणभावाद्वा **प्रत्यवसितः** श्रान्तः । **प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तत्वात्** कर्मण्यः । स **उदास्थित** इत्येवंसंज्ञः । अपवर्गार्थमुद्यम्य निवृत्तत्वात् सर्वाश्रमत्यागादुत्कर्षाशयः । *........................... दासस्तु कर्तव्या लोकद्वयबहिष्कृता । T. 54. M. 19. **आशास्तय** आशंसनानि ताभिर्हेतुभिः, **आगतानामङ्गविद्यया** ज्यौतिषनिमित्तज्ञानादिकया । तैश्च संसृष्टवतां शिष्याणां स्वाङ्गस्पर्शादिसंज्ञाभिः । **कर्माण्यभिजनेऽवसितानीति** इदं ते कर्म वीणावादकत्वं वैश्यश्चासि सेवान्वेच्छसीति(?)प्रत्ययात् प्राग् **आदिशेत्** । अथवा कर्माण्येव चान्यभिजनापेक्षयाभीप्सितानि तानि वैद्यत्वेन जीवनमसदमकत्वेन वेति । किञ्चाल्पलाभं स्वस्ते वस्त्रलाभो भविता । यथा चेयं वस्त्राद् (?)

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* इतः परं पत्रार्धपरिमिता ग्रन्थपङ्क्तयो मातृकायां लुप्ताः ।

दक्षिणपूर्वस्यामग्निरुत्थाता । **चारेभ्यो भयं** चाराणां वा पञ्चरात्राद् भविता । **दूष्यवधम्** । प्रष्टुमभिप्रेतं बुद्ध्वा कामस्ते सम्पन्नः येनासौ स्वामी सन्तुष्टः न सम्पन्नस्ते येनासावसन्तुष्टः । तत्कुलोपांशुप्रभृतीनामादाय नियमनं भविता । **विदेशप्रतिज्ञानं** कलिङ्गेषु राजा मृत इति आ पञ्चरात्राद्धि स्फुटमेतद् भविष्यतीति । **इदमद्यैव** राज्ञा दौर्मनस्यं सौमनस्यं श्वः पुनरिदं भविता **इदं वा राजा** शोभनमशोभनं वा **करिष्यतीत्यादिशेत्** ॥

T. 55. तदेतदल्पलाभादिकं **गूढा** अज्ञातप्रयोगाः **सत्रिणः** प्रच्छन्नचाराः **संपादयेयुः** लोकसंप्रत्ययार्थम् । **सत्त्वेति** । सत्येन प्रज्ञया वाक्येन वाग्मितया शक्त्या सामर्थ्येन संपन्नानां सपरिग्रहयोग्यानाम् । **राजभाग्यमिति** राजसंबन्धिवाक्यं पट्टसंबन्धादि दिव्येन चक्षुषा पश्यन्निव **अनुव्याहरेत्** । मन्त्री सन्मन्त्रित्वादाहूयाभिप्रायं पूरयिष्यतीति । **मन्त्री चैषां** सत्त्वादियुक्तानां सत्त्वाद्यनुरूपया वृत्त्यानुकर्मणा च विशेषेण यतेत । **ये च** राज्ञा सम्बन्धिनः **कारणादभिक्रुद्धाः** राजदोषेणेत्यर्थः । क्रुद्धग्रहण मुपलक्षणार्थं लुब्धभीतमानिनां च । तानमात्यान् **अर्थमानाभ्यां शमयेत्** । **अकारणक्रुद्धान्** स्वदौःशील्यात् क्रुद्धान् । **तूष्णींदण्डेन** प्रच्छन्नदण्डेन । **राजद्विष्टकारिणश्चेति** राजद्विष्टं महान्तमनर्थं कर्तुकामान् तूष्णींदण्डेन शमयेत् ॥

पूजिताश्चेति । एते एवंधर्माणः न केवलं मन्त्रिणा **राज्ञा च अर्थमानाभ्यां** पूजिताः कर्मण्या भवन्ति । किञ्चिदपदिश्य **राजोपजीविनां शौचं** जानीयुः । एताः पञ्चाप्येकया संज्ञया **संस्था** इति **प्रकीर्तिताः** । तथा चाहुः—

चारोऽन्तेवासिना तेन भक्ताच्छादगृहाणि च ।
सन्तिष्ठते यतस्तेन संस्थास्ताः परिकीर्तिताः ॥

इति गूढपुरुषोत्पत्तौ संस्थोत्पत्तिरेकादशोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ द्वादशोऽध्यायः

इदानीं सञ्चाराणां लक्षणानि योजनादीनाह । **ये चास्येति** । **ये चास्य राज्ञः सम्बन्धिनोऽपि सन्तोऽवश्यभर्तव्याः** बालवृद्धव्यसन्यनाथास्ते ह्युपगृहीताः कर्मण्याः, ये चाऽप्यसम्बन्धिन इति । तत्राऽप्यस्य स्वजनाः सम्बन्धिनश्च यथाकथञ्चित् सम्बन्धा इति । अथवाप्यानां सम्बन्धिनस्तत्प्रतिबद्धाः

पूर्ववच्चावश्यभर्तव्या इति । तेषां लक्षणं पुरुषहस्त्यादीनाम् । अङ्गविद्यां शिक्षादिकां वशीकरणाद्यर्थां भगिनीं तत्र प्रकारं(?)मायायोगमिन्द्रजालम् । आश्रमधर्मं गृहस्थादिधर्मम् । निमित्तं दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमम् । अन्तरचक्रं शिवावायसादिरुदितम् । इतिशब्दादेवंप्रकारं धातुवादादिकम् । अधीयानाः पठन्तः । सत्रिणः सत्रं छद्म विद्यते येषामिति । संस(र्गद्वि ? र्गविद्या वे)ति । संसृजनं संसर्गः, तद्धेतुकां नृत्तगीतवादित्रादिकां वा विद्यामधीयानाः पृथङ्निर्देशः सर्वजनसम्पर्कहेतुत्वादियमेव सर्वैर्विकल्प्यत इति ॥

ये जनपद इति । शूरा विक्रान्ताः । त्यक्तात्मानः शौर्यान्नात्मरक्षणपराः । द्रव्यहेतोः द्रव्यतृष्णया । ऐकात्मिकं प्राणनाशमावहन्तो हस्तिनं व्यालं व्याघ्रादिकं योधयेयुः न च्छद्मना हन्युः । ते तीक्ष्णा इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञाः ॥

T. 57. परिव्राजिकेति । परिव्राजकधर्मे स्थिता, अनेकत्र वासाद् गमनागमेष्वशङ्कया पूज्या च । वृत्तिकामा राजार्थकारिणी । दरिद्रा अनन्यगतिः, अत एव वृत्तिकामा । विधवा न जीवद्भर्तृका स्वतन्त्रा । अन्ये पुनरविधवा इत्याहुः, अविधवा पुंस्कामेत्यर्थः । प्रगल्भा प्रतारणकुशला । ब्राह्मणी न क्षत्रिया, सा हि पूज्या भवति । अन्तःपुरे कृतसत्कारा पूजितपूजकत्वाल्लोकस्य । महामात्र-कुलान्युपेयानि वा अभ्युपगच्छेत् । एतया परिव्राजिकया । मुण्डाप्रव्राजिका-वृषल्यः (परित्यः ?) परित्यक्तचारित्रधर्मा व्याख्याताः । वृत्तिकामा इत्यादि । एते चतुर्विधाः सत्र्यादयश्चतुर्विधाः सञ्चाराः सञ्चारयन्ति वार्तामिति कृत्वा ॥

गूढपुरुषत्वेऽप्येषां विनियोगभेदात् पृथक्त्वम् । तदाह—तानित्यादि । राजा प्राक् स्वविषये मण्डले मन्त्र्यादिष्वपसर्पयेत् । अशुद्धस्वमण्डलस्य परमण्डलेऽपसर्पणासंभवात् । तत्र मन्त्रिणि पुरोहिते च तुष्टातुष्ट(त्व)मात्रज्ञानार्थम् । ततोऽन्येष्वेकाकी तत्सहायो वा अपसर्पयेत् । सेनायाश्चतुरङ्गयाः पतिः सेनापतिः । युवराजः कुमारः । विनीतत्वाद्यौवराज्येऽभिषिक्तः । दौवारिको द्वारे नियुक्तः प्रतीहारः । वंशः कुलमिति पर्यायत्वाद् राजकुलस्यान्तर्नियुक्ता अन्तर्वंशिकाः । स्त्र्यध्यक्षा अन्तःपुरिकाः । प्रशास्ता बलाधिकृतः । आयसमाहरणे नियुक्तः समाहर्ता देशव्यवहारी । सन्निधाता सम्यङ्निधाता स्थापयिता भाण्डागारिकः । प्रदेष्टा प्रकर्षेण देष्टा निबद्धवद्यत्रस्थापयिता कण्टकशोधनाधिकृतः । नायकः सहस्राध्यक्षः । वक्ष्यति—"तद्दशकस्यैको नायकः" (अधि. ११. अध्या. ६.) इति । पौरव्यावहारिकः पौराणां ये व्यवहारास्तत्र नियुक्तः । धर्मस्थ इत्यर्थः । कर्मा-

न्तिकाः सर्वकर्मान्तस्थानाधिकृताः । **मन्त्रिपरिषत्** मन्त्रिसमूहः । 'मन्त्रिपरिषदं कुर्वीत' इति वचनात् । तदध्यक्षो **मन्त्रिपरिषदध्यक्षः** (सान्ध्यविग्रहः ? सान्धिविग्रहिकः) । यस्य लक्षणममात्यसम्पदुपेतः सर्वसमयविदिति । **दण्डपाला** हस्त्यश्वरथपदात्यध्यक्षाः । **दुर्गपाला** नागरिकाः । (तो ? को)ट्टपालका इत्यर्थः । **अन्तपालो** जनपदान्तरक्षानियुक्तः । **आटविकाः** शबरादिनायकाः । एते(ष्व)-ष्टादशसु श्लिष्टत्वाच्छद्मयेदेशादीनपदिशन्ति । तत्र **देशान्** द्रमिडोऽस्मि कालिङ्गोऽस्मीति । **वेषं** **लिङ्गं** परिव्राजकोऽस्मीति पाशुपतोऽस्मीति । **भाषां** देशालापम् एषास्मद्देशभाषेति । **शिल्पं** चित्रं लिखितुं वीणां वादयितुं जानामीति । **अभिजनं** जातिं वैश्योऽस्मीति । अन्वयं वा सूपकारपुत्रोऽस्मीति वैद्यपुत्रोऽस्मीति । एवं**व्यपदेशां**स्तान् । **भक्तित** इति । यस्य यत्र भक्तिः स्नेहोऽस्ति द्रमिडे पाशुपते वा । **सामर्थ्ययोगाच्चेति** । यो यत्र समर्थः कार्यं साधयितुं तत्र । **अपसर्पयेत्** चारयेत् ॥

T. 58. नियुक्तानां व्यापारमाह— **तेषामिति** । मन्त्र्यादीनाम् । **बाह्यं चारं** चरितम् । **छत्राद्युपग्राहिणः** छत्राद्युपग्रहणशीलाः अन्तःप्रवेशनार्हाः प्रत्यासन्न-वर्तिनो मर्मज्ञास्तीक्ष्णाः स्वाम्यादेशे यथेष्टव्यापारसमर्था **विद्युः** । तत्रा**सनं** पीठिकादि । (**वाहनं**? **यानं**) युग्यादि । वाहनं हस्त्यश्वादि । **तम्** **चारं** बाह्यमुपलभ्य । **सत्रिणः संस्थास्विति** कापटिकादिषु यथायोगम् (**स्थाप**? **अर्प**) **येयुः** आचक्षीरन् ॥

M.21. आभ्यन्तरं के विद्युरित्याह—**सूदेत्यादि** । **सूदः** सूपकारः । **आरालिकः** कण्टकः । **स्नापकः** स्नापयिता । **संवाहको**ऽङ्गमर्दकः । **आस्तरकः** शय्याप्रसाधयिता । **उदकपरिचारकः** पानीयकर्मान्तिकः । एते **रसदाः** रसावचारणस्थाननियोगत्वात् । किमेत एवाभ्यन्तरं विद्युरित्याह—**कुब्जादयश्च** **कुब्जवामनौ** । **किरातो** म्लेच्छविशेषः । एते विदूषकादिच्छद्मानश्चान्तः पुरचारिणो विश्वास्याश्च । तत्र **मूको** यो न वक्ति । **जडो** यो न वक्ति शृणोति च । **गायना** वीणावादकाः । **वाग्जीवनाः** कथकादयः । **कुशीलवा** रङ्गोपजीविनः । **स्त्रियश्च** वृषल्यो निषिद्धोचितप्रवेशित्वाद् **आभ्यन्तरं चारं वि**द्युः । **तमि**-त्यान्तरं चारम् । **भिक्षुक्यः** परिव्राजिकाः उचितनिष्कासप्रवेशाः (**सर्पेयुः** ? **संस्थास्वर्पयेयुः**) ॥

T. 59. **संस्थानां येऽन्तेवासिनः** शिष्याः ते राजसम्भाषणस्य लक्षितत्वाद् गात्रस्पर्शादिसंज्ञाभिः सङ्केतिताभिः । **चारसञ्चारमिति** बाह्याभ्यन्तरयो-श्चारयोः सञ्चारं कुर्युः । **न चान्योन्यमिति** । **न च संस्थाः** संस्थान्तरम् । **ते च**

सञ्चारा न सञ्चारान्तरं विद्युः सङ्गायनपरिहारार्थम् । एकस्मिन् वा(ञ्छा? ज्ञा) ते मा भूत् सर्वग्रहणमिति । केवलन्तु सत्रिणो भिक्षुक्यश्च चारार्पणार्थं संस्थाभिः संसृज्यन्ते ॥

भिक्षुकीप्रतिषेध इति । तीर्थं चेत् स्वशङ्कया भिक्षुकीं निषेधयति तदा । द्वाःस्थपरम्परा इति । दौवारिकव्यञ्जनाः सत्रिणः प्रतिकक्ष्यपरम्परया भिक्षुकीष्वर्पयेयुरित्यर्थः । मातृपितृव्यञ्जना इति मातृपितृच्छद्मानः । शिल्पकारिकाः पत्रच्छेदादिकारिकाः । कुशीलवदास्यो रङ्गोपजीविदास्यः । गीतेन तद्वस्तुप्रतिबद्धेन सङ्केतितवेणुवीणावाद्येन । पाठ्येन द्व्यर्थनिबन्धनेन श्लोकपाठ्येन । भाण्डेनान्तर्लिखितेन । गूढलेख्येन पूर्वाचार्यकल्पितेन । तथा चोक्तम्—

ग्रहनयनवसुसमेतः षडाननोऽक्षाणि सागरा मुनयः ।
ज्वलनागण्डकशृङ्गद्वयलिखितं गूढलेख्यमिदम् ॥

इति । T. 60. अङ्गस्पर्शादिसंज्ञया वा यथायोगं चारं निर्हरेयुः निष्कासयेयुः । तदसम्भवे विधानान्तरमाह—दीर्घरोगेति । औपनिषदिकप्रयोगैरुत्पादितेन दीर्घरोगेण कुष्ठादिना, तद्दर्शनस्याप्रशस्तत्वात् । उन्मादेन असम्बन्धप्रलापहेतुना । तथा अग्निरसयोः प्रणिधानान्निसर्गेण व्यामोहितारक्षत्वाद् गूढनिर्गमनं प्रच्छन्नार्थनिष्कासनम् ॥

तत्रापि त्रयाणामेकवाक्यत्वे सम्प्रत्ययः । सम्यगैकान्तिकी प्रतीतिरित्यर्थः । कदाचिदेकस्य द्वयोर्वा परोपग्रहोऽसम्यगुपलब्धिर्वा स्यात् । तेषामिति चाराणाम् । अभीक्ष्णविनिपाते पुनः पुनर्विसंवादने । तूष्णीं दण्डः प्रच्छन्नवधः । प्रतिषेधो निवारणम् । मा भूत् प्रकाशवधे अन्यसञ्चाराणामुत्त्रास इति सकृद् द्विर्वा प्रमादाज्ञानादिभिः विसंवादयतस्तूपेक्षेत न पुनरेवं कार्यमिति ॥

इतरमण्डले गूढपुरुषप्रणिधानमाह—कण्टकशोधनोक्ता इति । समाहर्त्रा कण्टकशोधने वक्ष्यमाणे ग्राम्याणामध्यक्षाणां शौचाशौचज्ञानार्थं प्रणिहितास्तापसप्रव्रजितादयः । अपसर्पाः अपसर्पन्त इति कृत्वा ते । कापटिकादयश्च चशब्दात् । परेषु शत्रुषु । कृतवेतनाः कृतभृतयो वसेयुः । सम्पातनिश्चारार्थमिति । सम्पतन्त्येभिरिति सम्पाताः सञ्चाराः । तेषां गूढस्थान-

प्रवेशनिष्कासाः । तत्र निश्चरति इति निश्चारः । तदर्थके सम्यक्षिव्याचारिण (?) इति निरूपणार्थं तत्साक्षिणो वसेयुः । त उभयवेतना इति । ते चोभयवेतनाः स्युः स्वयमभृताः किमिति सङ्कटमवगाहन्ते । परैरभृताश्चाशङ्कनीयाः स्युः ॥

एतश्च कृत्वा साधारणार्थप्रतिबन्धकत्वाद् विधानान्तरमाह—गृहीतपुत्रदारांश्चेति । प्रच्छन्नगुप्तपुत्रदारान् । दानमानाभ्यां वा गृहीतपुत्रदारान् कुर्यात् । अव्यभिचारार्थम् । तांश्चोभयवेतनान् प्रचारनिश्चारार्थमरिणा प्रहितान् विद्यात् । तेषामिति प्रहितानाममात्यानां चोभयवेतनानाम् । शौचम् अस्मत्कार्यपरा इति । चकारादशौचञ्च विद्यात् । तद्विधैरिति । उभयवेतनप्रकारैः सिद्धतापसादिभिः, न तूभयवेतनैः । अरिसाधारणत्वाद् अनवस्थानिवृत्त्यर्थमेवमुच्यते । तथा चाहुः—

कः समानाभिहारेण च्छन्नानुभयवेतनान् ।
भृत्यराशौ स्थितान् वेत्ति शङ्के क्षीरकणानिव ॥

इति ।

T. 61. एवं कर्मसाक्षित्वेन स्थापितोभयवेतनो राजा एवं शत्रौ मित्रे तन्मित्रे मित्रामित्रवान्तर्भावं विजानीयात् । मध्यमे उदासीने च वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणे । चरांश्छत्रभृत्युपग्राहिण आवपेत् स्थापयेत् । तेषाञ्च विजिगीषुं त्यक्त्वा एकादशानां राज्ञां प्रत्येकम । तीर्थेष्वष्टादशस्वपि । मन्त्रिपुरोहिताः भर्तृकार्यमेषु स्थित्वा तरन्तीति तीर्थानि । तत्रैकादशसु राजसु तदीयेष्वात्मीयेषु च प्रत्येकमष्टादशस्वपि तीर्थेष्विति सप्तत्रिंशत्यधिकं शतद्वयं भवति ॥

एवं गूढपुरुषान् प्रणिधाय चरेषु प्रविभागार्थमाह—अन्तर्गृहगता इति । तेषां चराणाम् । कुब्जादय इति । अन्तर्गृहगता इति यात्रोचितप्रवेशत्वात् ॥

M. 22. न केवलं सञ्चारा दुर्गेषु वणिजः संस्थाः वैदेहकव्यञ्जनाः । दुर्गान्ते दुर्गस्य प्रान्ते । सिद्धतापसा इच्छाविख्यातसिद्धयः स्वापनविसर्जनाकर्षणो ....स्थव्यञ्जना उदास्थिताश्च राष्ट्रे जनपदे स्युः । जनपदान्ते च । व्रजवासिनः गोरक्षकव्यञ्जनाः । गोपव्यञ्जनस्यास्मादेव विनियोगात् स पाशुपाल्यप्रदिष्टायाम् (इत्या)दिनोत्पत्तिरवगन्तव्या । अथवोदास्थितविशेषोऽयम्, यतः "स वार्ताकर्मप्रदिष्टायां भूमौ" इत्युक्तम् । वार्ता च कृषिः पाशुपाल्यं वणिज्या चेति ॥

वने वनचरा इति । जनपदमध्येऽन्ते वा वनोद्देशे वनचराः स्थाप्याः वने चरन्तीति । ते च श्रमणाटविकादयः प्रव्रजितक्षपणकप्रकाराः । यान्

वक्ष्यति—"तेषामन्तराणि वागुरिकशबरपुलिन्दादयो रक्षेयुः" । (अधि. २. अध्या. १.) इति । परप्रवृत्तिज्ञानार्थमिति । परस्यावस्कन्दापसरणवार्ताज्ञानार्थम् । शीघ्राः शीघ्रगतयः । चारपरम्पराः चाराणां परम्पराः, अष्टमात्रगव्यूत्यन्तरिताः । ते हि द्रुतं वार्तां सम्पादयन्ति ॥

परस्य वेति । परप्रयुक्ताश्चैते बोद्धव्याः । तादृशैरेव तादृशा इति । समानशीला एव समानशीलान् विन्दन्ति । तथा चाहुः—"सर्पस्यैव पदान्यहिः स्वचेष्टितेन जानन्ति धूर्ता एव हि धूर्तचेष्टितम्" इति । तदेव दर्शयन्नाह—चारसञ्चारिण इति । चारसञ्चारणशीलाः परसंस्थाः स्वचारसञ्चारिभिः स्वसंस्थाभिर्बोद्धव्याः । गूढाश्च परगूढपुरुषास्तीक्ष्णरसादयः । अगूढसंज्ञितैः स्वगूढपुरुषैरगूढसंज्ञितैरिति । ननु च तांश्चारिप्रहितांस्तद्विधैर्विद्यादित्युक्तमेव किमर्थम् । सत्यम् । उभयवेतनाश्रयेणोक्तम् । इह त्वसाधारणं वेतनाश्रयेणोक्तम् ॥

T. 62. विशेषविधानार्थमाह—अकृत्यानित्यादि । न स्वभावतः अकृत्यान्, किन्तु कृत्यपक्षीयैः कृत्यवर्गभवैः कार्यैः छिद्रकथनावसर्पग्रहणादिभिः । हेतुभिश्च संश्रुत्यर्थान् विप्रलब्ध इत्यादिभिः । कृत्याकृतिः परं प्रकाशित्वात् (?) । परापसर्पज्ञानार्थम् । मुख्यान् अक्षुद्रान् । ते हि परोपजापयोग्याः । अन्ते जनपदस्य । आवासयेत् । परापसर्पणावहितैः संसृज्य न जनपदं प्रविशन्ति । तेषां कृत्यतया विश्वासस्थानीयत्वादिति ॥

सञ्चारोत्पत्तिर्गूढपुरुषोत्पत्तिः ।
अष्टमं प्रकरणम् ।
द्वादशोऽध्यायः

अथ त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः

शास्त्रकार एव प्रकरणसम्बन्धमाह—कृतमहामात्रापसर्प इति । महती मात्रा येषां ते महामात्राः मन्त्रिपुरोहितादयः । तेषु कृताः स्थापिता अपसर्पा गूढपुरुषा येन स राजा । पुरभवान् जनपदभवांश्च अपसर्पयेद् विश्वासयेत् । केऽत्र कृत्याः कर्तव्याः तद्विपरीताश्चाकृत्या इति स्वविषये कृत्याकृत्यपक्षरक्षणमुच्यते । तत्र कृत्याकृत्यपक्षरक्षणपरिज्ञानोपायमाह—सत्रिण इति । द्वन्द्वं वैरं तद्विद्यते येषां ते (द्वन्द्विनः) । संवरणार्थमितरे-

तत्प्रख्यातवैराः । तीर्थेषु पुण्यस्थानेषु । पूगस्य तपस्विसङ्घस्य समवायः । सभासु मण्डलेषु । जनपदसमवायेषु । विवादं प्रकरणोपहितं कलहं कुर्युः । सर्वगुणसम्पन्नश्चायं राजा देशान्तरेऽस्माभिरन्यैश्च श्रूयते । न चास्यात्र गुणो दृश्यते । यथाहुः—"रागे सार्वगुण्यमेव विरागे दोषसामग्र्यम् ।" यश्चायं राजा अपरागः पौरजानपदान् अल्पविभवान् । पीडयति दण्डकराभ्याम् ॥

तत्र तस्मिन्नेवमुक्ते । ये वक्तारं संवादेन प्रशंसेयुः साधूक्तमिति ।ताननुवादिनस्तं च इतरो द्वितीयः सत्री प्रतिषेधयेत् । तिष्ठन्तु तावदस्यान्येऽगुणाः, दण्डकरादानेनैव तावदिहामुत्र च लोके युष्माननुगृह्णाति । तथा हि श्रूयते—

कृतयुगे किल अननुभूतदोषत्वाद् विनैव राजभिः स्वधर्मकर्माभिरताः प्रजा आसन् । त्रेतादौ कालदोषादनिवार्यलोकप्रसराः पल्यादिषु प्रवर्तन्ते (?) । इतरे कर्षकादयश्च । वैवस्वतं विवस्वत्पुत्रमन्वयगौरवयुक्तम् । राजानं पालयितारं चक्रिरे । कृतकृत्याश्च तेऽस्य षड्भागं व्रीह्यादीनां षष्ठं भागम् । पण्य दशभागं पणितव्यादीनां शङ्खलोहवस्त्रादीनां दशमं भागम् । हिरण्यस्य सुवर्णस्य राज्ञः कतिभाग इत्यत उक्तं तत्सर्वमेवाकरेषूत्पन्नं भागमेव भागधेयं कल्पयामासुः । ततो हि कामं श्रमफलमेषां राजैव दद्यात् । हिरण्यग्रहणं मणिमुक्तोदाहरणार्थम् । तेन च यथोक्तभागेन भृता राजानः प्रजानां भृतनिष्क्रयार्थं योगक्षेमावहाः योगक्षेमयोरावहाः । योगाः कर्मणां प्रवर्तनाः; प्रवृत्तानां रक्षणं क्षेमः । तत्र योऽपराधाद् (नैजनो ? देहजो)दण्डः यश्च रक्षासाधनार्थो बलिः करसंज्ञः, (तेन ? तौ) भागत्वेन अपरिकल्पितावपि व्यवस्थार्थमुत्सृष्टव्यौ । को ह्यत्रापकारो राज्ञाम् । अन्यथा हि तेषां प्रमाद किल्बिषम् अदण्डधरो राजा हरति । न चैव प्रजानामयमुपकारो यद्रक्षणम् । तासामपि हि प्रजानां किल्बिषम् अयोगक्षेमावहा राजानो हरन्ति । तस्मादारण्यकाः अरण्यवासिनः । उञ्छ(शेषं ? षड्) भागमिति । उपसंहृतसस्यात् खलात् क्षेत्राद्वा यदवकीर्णं धान्यादि तस्योच्चयनम् उञ्छ उच्यते । तस्य षड्भागमनादिष्टसितमपि राज्ञो देवताया इवादृष्टार्थं भूमौ निर्वपन्ति प्रयच्छन्ति । तस्यैतद्भागधेयं योऽयमस्मान् गोपायति रक्षतीति । तान्निषिध्य क्षुद्रकानपि प्रतिषेधयन्नाह—इन्द्रयमस्थानमिति । इन्द्रो यमश्चात्र तत्कर्मादिचरणात् साक्षादिव वसतः । ऐश्वर्यप्रकर्षादिन्द्र इव अपक्षपातदण्डत्वाच्च यम इवायं प्रत्यक्षबाधप्रसादत्वादिति । प्रत्यक्षहेडप्रसादा इति । हेडो निग्रहः तेन यमः,

प्रसादेनानुग्रहेणेन्द्रः । अयं तु विशेषो यदस्य प्रत्यक्षौ हे
अवमन्यमानान् दैवो दण्डः वह्न्युदकादिपीडा स्पृश
रञ्जयितारः कृतघ्नैर्भूत्वा नावमन्तव्याः । क्षुद्रकान् दृष्टमा
षेधयेत् सत्री । किंवदन्तीं च जनवादं निन्दया प्रश
राजानमाहेति प्रतिविधानार्थं सत्रिणो विद्युः ॥

येचास्येति । ये जनपदमुख्या महत्तरा जनपदस्य धान्यप
न्याजीवन्ति आददति आहृतवृद्धियोजनलाभेन उपजीवन्ति । व्यसने
च उत्सवे जाते तैरेव धान्यादिभिः जनपदस्योद्धारेण राज्ञो वा उद्धारोपायन
रुपकुर्वन्ति । कुपितं बन्धुजनस्य राज्ञो वा तत्कुलीनं व्यावर्तयन्ति अ
प्रविश्य प्रत्याययन्ति । राष्ट्रम् अपरागात् कुपितं सामादिभिर्वा यथायो
व्यावर्तयन्ति वारयन्ति । अमित्रं वा आटविकजनं वा प्रतिषेधयन्ति ।
राज्ञां वा अमित्रम् आटविकं वा व्युत्थितं संभावयन्तमुपगम्य दण्डकर्मणा
प्रतिषेधयन्ति तदसम्पर्कार्थम् । तेषामिति मुख्यानाम् । मुण्डजटिलव्यञ्जनाः
परमार्थतो येऽमुण्डजटिलास्तद्व्यञ्जनाः । तुष्टातुष्टत्वमुपकारापकाराङ्गभूतं विद्युः ॥

एषां भविष्यत्कृत्यानां रक्षणोपायमाह—तुष्टानिति । तुष्टानतिशयार्थं भूयः पूजामानाभ्याम् । अतुष्टांस्तुष्टिहेतोरिति । तुष्टिरेव भविष्यती हेतुः तदर्थम् । त्यागेन दानेन देयविसर्गादिना पञ्चविधेन प्रसाधयेत् तोषयेत् । परस्पराद्वेति । संहतत्वाद्दानमवमन्यमानानन्योन्यस्माद् भेदयेत् । यथा अपकाराय न संहन्यन्ते कुतश्चिदाश्रयादबहुमानानाश्रयेभ्यः सामन्तादिभ्यो भेदयेत् । तथा अवरुद्धो निर्धारितः । तथापि जनपदव्यपाश्रयादेव दानेन अतुष्यतस्तान् । दण्डकरसाधनाधिकारेणेति । दण्डकरयोः साधनेऽधिकुर्यात्, तेन साधनाधिकारेण । जनपदविद्वेषं ग्राहयेत् तेहि साधयन्तो नियतं तद्द्वेष्या भवन्ति । ततश्च जनपदमात्रसहायत्वात् तेन चेत्त्यक्ताः किमु तैस्तुष्टैः । तस्मादपवादमात्रपरिहारार्थं विद्विष्टानुपांशुदण्डेन साधयेत् । जनपदकोपेन चेति जनपदमेव वा प्रकोप्यैतेनैव साधयेत् । गुप्तपुत्रदारानिति । दुर्गादिप्रवेशितपुत्रदारान् वा जनपदाद् वियोजयितुमाकरकर्मान्तेषु वा तदध्यक्षान् वासयेद् अधिकुर्यादित्यर्थः । परेषामास्पदभयादिति । अन्यथा जनपदस्थिताः संस्थादिभावेन परेषामास्पदमवस्थानं स्युरिति भयाद्वासयेत् ॥

केनपुनः स्फुटाः कृत्याकृत्याः कुद्धादयो वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणाः परेषां शत्रूणामात्मसात्कर्तव्यतया कृत्याः । तेषां रक्षणोपायमाह—तेषामिति ।

व्यञ्जना इति । कृतान्तः सिद्धान्तोऽभिधीयते । ते कार्तान्तिकाः निमित्तमधीयत इति नैमित्तिकाः । शुभमशुभं वा भवितेति समादिशन्तः प्रष्टृणामाविष्कृतपरस्पराभिसम्बन्धमिति । बाह्यानां बाह्यैराभ्यन्तराणामाभ्यन्तरैः ापम् । अमित्रसम्बन्धं वा कः केन राज्ञो मित्रेण सम्बध्यत इति तत्र स्वराजन्येव तुष्टान् अकृत्यान् प्राप्तपूजानपि दार्ढ्यार्थं अन्येषां णार्थं भक्तिमेव प्रख्याप्य दानमानाभ्यां च पूजयेत् । अतुष्टानतस्तत्र न् । सामदानभेददण्डैः क्रमविधानार्थं प्रतिपदग्रहणम्, शमयेद् कृत्यतामापादयेदित्यर्थः ॥

उपसंहरन्नाह—एवमिति । पूजया सामादिभिश्च कृत्यानकृत्यांश्च विचक्षण इति वैचक्षण्यादन्यानप्येवं जानीयादिति । परोपजापात् शत्रुकृतभेदात् सम्यग् रक्षेत् प्रधानानमात्यान् क्षुद्रकान् जानपदानिति ॥

इति स्वविषये कृत्याकृत्यपक्षरक्षणं नवमं प्रकरणम् ।
त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः

शास्त्रकार एव प्रकरणसम्बन्धमाह—कृत्याकृत्यपक्षोपग्रह इति । ननु च सामर्थ्यादेव गम्यते स्वविषये व्याख्यात इति, वक्ष्यमाणत्वाच्च परविषये वाच्य इति । तस्मादयमर्थः । स्वविषये कृत्याकृत्योपग्रहो यस्तुष्टान् भूयः पूजयेद् अतुष्टान् सामादिभिः साधयेदिति, स परविषयेऽपि वाच्यः । राज्ञो गुणैरनुरक्तान् पूजयेद् अतुष्टान् सामादिभिरात्मसात्कुर्यादिति ॥

क्रुद्धादीनां कृत्यानां लक्षणमाह—संश्रुत्येत्यादि । "साहसो राजपथः" (अधि. १०, अध्या. ३) इत्यादि संश्रुत्य प्रतिज्ञायार्थान्, कृते कर्मणि अदानादल्पदानमानाद्वा विप्रलब्धो वञ्चितः क्रुध्यति । तुल्यकारिण इति । शिल्पविषये उपकारविषये वा दर्शिततुल्यास्त्रशास्त्रशिल्पत्वाद्वा कृततुल्योपकाराद्वा विमानितः कृतहीनमानः क्रुध्यति । वल्लभावरुद्धः राजवल्लभैरवरुद्धः सुभगातत्पुत्रभ्रात्रादिभिर्वा परिभूतः क्रुद्ध एवास्ते । समाहूय पराजित इति । अर्थपतिना आत्मपतिना मित्रवता बलवता प्रचण्डेन गुरुणा नीचेन तपस्विना सह विवादं वर्जयेदिति परिहरन्नपि सम्यगहं ते व्यवहारं द्रक्ष्यामीति